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and
A Philosophy of Human Life and Aspirations
Based Thereupon

By
OSIAS L. SCHWARZ
Author of
GENERAL TYPES OF SUPERIOR MEN

1936 · PERENNIAL PUBLICATIONS · Washington

UNCONVENTIONAL ETHICS

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TO THE REVERED MEMORY
OF MY BELOVED MASTER

DR. MAX NORDAU

RARE PRECURSOR OF THE FUTURE
SUPERMAN, WHO COMBINED THE
MANYSIDED INTELLECT OF AN
ARISTOTLE WITH THE ALL-
EMBRACING HEART OF A PROPHET,

I DEDICATE

THIS ETHICS OF THE FUTURE,
INSPIRED BY HIS LOFTY ALTRU-
ISTIC TEACHINGS AND WRITTEN
WITH MY VERY LIFE-BLOOD IN
BEHALF OF THE EXPLOITED OF
ALL NATIONS AND RACES

Preface

THE present book lays claim to being the first explicit and comprehensive— though necessarily not very systematic— attempt to emancipate the study of Ethics from the grip of the nebulous, lifeless, empty, insipid, academic abstractions, fictions, word-idolatry, verbiage, irrelevant or artificial problems, and to bring it down from this cloud realm to the plane of real human struggles, hopes and fears. Laying all false modesty aside, the present ethico-psychological study lays claim to the honor of bringing about in the field of Ethics the same revolution as has been produced by the Copernican system in astronomy. It shifts, namely, the center of gravity from undisguised or underworld crime to the much more dangerous disguised, legalized or upper-world criminality; from individual responsibility to social responsibility or to the predatory structure pervading our entire social organization; from effects to causes; from the idle verbal disputes and plutolatrous doctrines of conventional, academical, mercenary or pseudo-Ethics to the burning, vital questions of the everyday struggle for existence; from prohibitory, coercive, punitive, negative legislation or statecraft to the much more important preventive, positive, constructive phase. It strives to enthrone dynamic morality and to dethrone our time-honored static or legal morality. In other words: the present work—which has grown out of bitter personal experience, drawing strength and inspiration from the genuine ethical teachings implied in, or underlying, the doctrines of Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, and particularly from the teachings of Max Nordau's immortal Conventional Lies—attacks the legal doctrine of and the legal endeavor to maintain the immobility, fixity or immutability of the existing social order, and strives to substitute in its place the genuinely moral doctrine of, and the concerted endeavor to accelerate, the motion of our social organization round the Sun of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, towards the goal of general happiness and uplift. Finally, another innovation in the study of Ethics to which the present work—together with its as yet unpublished companion volume—lays claim, is its dealing with real men, institutions and movements, and not with fictions or abstractions: with the various types of moral and immoral agents and their influence upon human progress and happiness, and not with the homo abstractus discarded by Economics but still retained by our plutolatrous academic Ethics and Psychology; with the moral genius, and not with abstract goodness; with the pseudo-moral type of men, and not with hypocrisy in the abstract; with disguised and undisguised predatory individuals, and not with dishonesty in the abstract; just as modern criminology and medicine do not deal any longer with delinquency and disease, respectively, as if they were entities affecting all men alike, but rather concern themselves with actual, concrete, individual delinquents and patients.

—The Author.

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BOOK ONE

General Characteristics of Moral Genius, Pseudo-Morality, Upper and Under World Predacity.

BURTĂ—VERDILOR MORALIȘTĬ

Voĭ carĭ nu cunóscețĭ munca, nicĭ amarele-ĭ necazurĭ;
Voĭ carĭ în lux și bogăție de micĭ ațĭ înnotat;
Voĭ carĭ de micĭ vĕ legănațĭ pe ale plăcereĭ talazurĭ;
Voĭ carĭ numaĭ în salóne și mătăsurĭ v'ațĭ aflat;
Tocmaĭ voĭ sĕ fițĭ aceĭa carĭ sĕ ne dea morală?
Voĭ sĕ fițĭ aceĭa carĭ sĕ ne predice cumpĕtare?
Voĭ carĭ, tărîțĭ de-o nesăturată rîvnă animală,
Sugețĭ măduva tótă din ale nóstre mădulare?!
O! ironia asta e prea amară pentru noĭ!
Inlăturĭ voĭ fățarnicĭ, înlăturĭ voĭ lipitorĭ!
Destul suferirăm noĭ. Ne vețĭ da socoteală voĭ!
Când cruda fóme ne va face tigri îngrozitorĭ!

—O. L. S.

Focșanĭ (Roumania), Oct. 5, 1898.

CHAPTER I.

Static and Dynamic Morality—Law and Ethics, or Moral Philistinism and Moral Genius.

STATIC Morality, moral conservatism, moral philistinism, as expressed in present-day legislation, in conventional, academical, capitalistic or pseudo ethics, and in various shades of politics (liberal, conservative, republican, democratic, etc.), is concerned with maintaining the present order in its fundamental features, the existing artificial, unstable social equilibrium between the haves and the have-nots, between the privileged, moneyed, propertied, leisure, master, hunting or ruling class and the disinherited, poor, toiling, exploited, hunted or ruled class.

Dynamic morality, moral progressivism, moral genius, as expressed in preventive or constructive legislation, in genuine, revolutionary ethics, that is to say, in the ethics of socialism, anarchism, communism, being concerned with the welfare of all, of the entire human species, strives to abolish the existing social inequalities, the legalized exploitation of the poor by the rich, the existing inequalities of opportunity; it strives to raise the social level above class distinctions up to the level of genuine, complete democracy and of universal happiness.

Dynamic morality, or moral idealism, strives to accomplish in the field of ethics, economics, industry, politics the same revolution as has been accomplished in astronomy by the Copernican system. It attacks, namely, the legal doctrine of, the belief in, and the endeavor to maintain, the immobility, fixity or immutability of human institutions or of our social organization; and strives to substitute in its place the doctrine of, and the concerted endeavor to accelerate, the motion of our social organization round the sun of equality, liberty, and fraternity, towards the goal of genuine democracy and universal happiness. Dynamic morality shifts the center of gravity from underworld crime to upperworld crime, from effects to causes, from prohibitory legislation to constructive legislation, from idle academic disputes to the burning, vital questions of the everyday struggle for existence.

Both Law and Ethics aim at regulating and harmonizing the mutual relations between men. Only, the Law—as well as conservative, conventional, academical or pseudo ethics—follows the method of moral philistinism; whereas genuine, progressive, revolutionary ethics follows the teachings of moral genius.

The Law, or moral philistinism, is short-sighted, conservative, statical; it concerns itself merely with acts of tangible, direct and immediate immoral consequences; it is blinded and captivated by appearances, externals, striking effects; it ministers to the baser human motives, that is, self-interest and vindictiveness; it relies on force or compulsion and is guided by precedents, traditions, arbitrary decisions.

Genuine ethics, or moral genius, is far-sighted, comprehensive, progressive, dynamical; it concerns itself with the motives or aims of human activity and with all its consequences, direct and indirect, immediate and remote, tangible and in-

tangible; it appeals to the nobler motives, to justice or regard for other people's rights and to altruism or regard for other people's needs; it is guided by common sense, logic, regard for the general welfare, and relies upon persuasion, voluntary agreement, good will.

The Law attacks crimes; revolutionary or genuine ethics attacks their causes, that is, selfishness, greed, vanity, and parasitism under their various aspects or disguises.

The Law strives to maintain the existing order and moral level by means of external props called courts, prisons, reformatories, the police, army, etc.; Ethics works for social progress, towards raising the moral level, towards the creation of a voluntary, natural social solidarity sanctioned from within by the feelings and convictions of every member of the human society.

The Law lays stress upon individual responsibility; Ethics emphasizes social or collective responsibility.

While Jurisprudence and academical or pseudo ethics waste time on the absurd, barren disputes about responsibility or free will, genuine or altruistic ethics calls attention to the more vital and fruitful question of the delinquent's corrigibility or moral curability.

While the Law stupidly tries to abolish crime by devising all sorts of deterrents, which refuse, however, to deter; moral genius or moral dynamics devises incentives to a virtuous and honest life. Nay, by its deterrents the Law only breeds sneakingness, hypocrisy, moral and intellectual cowardice, mutual distrust and fear between men.

While jurisprudence, pseudo ethics, capitalistic criminology waste their ingenuity on the study of the individual delinquent, the moral genius shifts the emphasis to the root of all evils, that is, to the predatory structure of our entire social organization.

The Law deals with men as if they were detached social units and forgets, therefore, that by inflicting penalties or deprivations upon the guilty it also causes suffering to the innocent, that is, to the families of the delinquent, to their friends and to the entire social organism. Owing to its divorcement from Ethics, its shortsightedness, disregard of ultimate causes, intentions or motives, disregard of remote consequences and of general interests, the Law defeats its own ends, that is, it does more harm than good to human society for whose protection it is intended. By trying to repress men's anti-social proclivities, instead of listening to the counsel of moral genius which recommends their directing into useful or constructive channels, it breeds criminals and moral cripples. By attacking mere overt, palpable, frank, undisguised criminality, the Law puts a premium upon the much more dangerous covert, underhanded, disguised criminality. By shortsightedly trying, like Medicine, to cure only local troubles, it loses sight of the greater harm it inflicts upon the entire social edifice. While the Law tries to cure or rather to *repress* evil, to mitigate man's inhumanity to man, to make men less dangerous to each other, Ethics, like Hygiene, exerts foresight, that is, it strives to *prevent* trouble, conflict, criminality by trying to improve the moral fibre of men and their social-economic conditions, by trying to substitute cooperation, persuasion, enlightenment for competition, compulsion, suggestion. While trying to preserve the existing social equilibrium, the Law hinders moral progress or the rise of the moral level. The gigantic and exceedingly compli-

cated legal machinery,with its labyrinthine net of traps, can detect but the less harmful, brainless, frank, uncautious, extra-social, little thieves; but is easily evaded by, and even pressed into the service of, the big, dangerous, brainy, insatiable, well organized, diplomatic, crafty, cautious, intra-social criminals and parasites who prey upon the whole nation, upon the living as well as yet unborn generations. Divorced from Ethics, our juridical machinery—with its awe-inspiring pomp, formalism, technicalities, subtleties, grandiloquence, intricacies, self-important fuss about its methods of securing and weighing evidence—remains an expensive and not in the least edifying social tragi-comedy.

The Law does not and can not protect the poor, unsuspicious, naive, gullible, honest men from being preyed upon and exploited by the disguisedly predatory individuals; it merely affords some protection to those who can protect themselves anyhow, without its help, that is, to the shrewd, distrustful, worldly-wise who know how, and who have the means, to invoke its aid; but even these individuals acknowledge that it is better to rely on prevention than on legal cure, that is, they realize that it is safer and cheaper to be cautious, to make themselves feared, to acquire authority or influential friends and notoriety, to keep out of the way of the disguised man-hunters or human beasts of prey and to avoid their traps than to first trust them and then go to law for the recovery of damages.

The Law does not tolerate open, violent predacity; but it is still helpless to grapple with—nay, it lends its support to—disguised, covert, or conventional, traditional forms of predacity (commercial, industrial, financial, diplomatical, military, etc.).

The Law, while it has dethroned the anti-social type of men endowed with and resorting to brutal strength—who at least fought their own battles, fought openly and hence could be shunned or overpowered by the combined strength of the weak—, has enthroned a much more dangerous anti-social type of men, the crafty, litigious, deceitful, treacherous, underhanded, who work harm in underground, hidden, undetectable ways, and even compel the Law to fight their battles, to do their dirty work and to protect them against their enraged victims, so that under the present system there is no protection whatsoever against them.

In short: Under our individualistic, competitive or predatory regime, Law and Ethics (moral statics and moral dynamics, conservation and innovation, rest and motion, attention to particular and attention to general interests, attention to details and attention to the whole, cure and prevention, attention to effects and attention to causes) work independently of and therefore against each other; to be beneficial to human society they must work hand in hand, and this can happen only under a co-operative regime.

CHAPTER II.

The Two Constituents of Morality: Justice and Altruism.

NO group of living or human beings, not even a group of criminals, can subsist as a group without a certain amount of justice or fairness and of altruism or sympathy (solidarity, loyalty, kindness, charitableness). Justice or moral harmony requires that every able-bodied man should be remunerated as far as possible in proportion to his services (*suum cuique*). Justice requires that actions and feelings should be reciprocated or repaid in kind. Justice also requires respect for agreements freely entered upon, respect for property which is honestly used and acquired, i. e., not acquired at the expense of fellowmen belonging to the same group, race, etc., and which is not used as a weapon of exploitation; respect for the non-parasitical liberty and aspirations of others; in short, justice demands equal treatment of equals and equal opportunities for all. Altruism requires that every one should receive according to his needs, even when he is not yet able or has become unable to render services to the community. What is due to every one is merely a matter of custom or social habit; one can never estimate the real value and importance of individual work and services. But one can fairly well estimate the needs of one's fellowmen and co-laborers.

The greater the group, the more complex become the relations between its members, the more difficult does it become to apply the rules and to comply with the requirements of genuine justice, the more difficult does it become to distinguish real from apparent services, and services from parasitism.

Justice stands midway between selfishness and altruism; it is the rational aspect of morality. The commands of legal justice are, of course, more easily complied with than the commands of altruism, for the former do not impose any sacrifice of personal interests. The just man is ethically conservative; whereas the altruist is ethically progressive or liberal. Just as in politics the conservatives regard the liberals or progressives (who are in reality progressive only in minor, superficial matters and just as conservative as the former in fundamental matters) as dangerous and antipatriotical; just so do both of these morally conservative or statically moral elements look upon the altruists, the social reformers, the dynamically moral or genuinely progressive individuals, as dangerous to the welfare of mankind, as undesirable citizens.

The altruist takes pleasure in causing pleasure to others, either positively or negatively by relieving them of pain. The altruistic impulse is so much the purer and nobler the less it needs an additional impulse from selfish aims or side-intentions in order to go over into action. Purely altruistic, for instance, is the assistance given spontaneously to unknown individuals from whom nothing in return can be expected.

The morally balanced superior man is both altruistic and just. His altruism is intellectualized. He shrinks from both justice at the expense of altruism, having in mind that *summum jus summa injuria*, and from altruism at

the expense of justice, from blind or short-sighted charity. He is more many-sided than the pure altruist and than the purely law-abiding man; he is, therefore, less active, less enthusiastic, less prompt to act than both. Poly-ideism goes together with relative oligo-activity, which is not to be confounded with the irrational hesitation of *folie du doute.*

Compared with justice, altruism is a more easily attainable reality. It is a real possession which through the cooperation of social (educational) and of physiological transmission could become a universal or common property of mankind. Altruism, once implanted in the hearts of men, remains indestructible, immune from adulteration or infection of any sort, and yields the best social fruits without demanding much care, external props or guards. Whereas justice is a mere desideratum, a mere concept which can be realized only approximately, very unsatisfactorily, and at great expense of time and energy that should rather be expended upon increased production. Thus justice demands equal treatment of equals; but where in the world do we find equal individuals? Justice demands that everybody should get his due or "the full product of his toil." But how could we possibly determine what belongs to everyone, that is, what he would have produced by himself, without the assistance of socially-accumulated experiences, without the assistance of social wealth and inventions, without the contributions of his contemporaries and predecessors? Justice demands that remuneration should be proportional to services. Supposing that we could separate the individual shares in every human achievement, how could we establish their respective values when there is no objective standard or unit of measure to enable us to compare services of the same kind and when it is still less to be expected that a scale of equivalences or a conversion table will be found to enable us to convert one kind of service into units of another kind, to give due weight to labor and to guidance or to muscular and intellectual services? And even if such a system of measuring and of evaluating services were possible, at what expense will it have to be carried out, against how many falsifications or adulterations will it have to be defended, and what inequalities and iniquities will it lead to?

Ethical dualism claims that there are two ethical principles, rules or fundamental qualities which are equally indispensable, mutually supplementary, and which can not be translated in terms of each other, viz.: justice toward equals and benevolence toward all and particularly toward inferiors. Ethical monism emphasizes one to the exclusion of the other, forgetting that justice takes care of rights whereas benevolence or love takes care of needs, justice being the male principle of morality and kindness the female principle thereof.

All moral acts, feelings, thoughts, motives, on being analyzed, show themselves to consist of but two constituents, justice and altruism, fairness and love, mixed in various proportions and more or less contaminated with impure, selfish, immoral, predatory elements. If to nonanalytical or convention-ruled minds the number of moral constituents, qualities, impulses, habits or virtues seems to be much greater, it is partly because the two constituents of morality are known by so many different names which mislead us into mistaking them for the names of different entities, and partly because the two constituents do not exist separately but combined in varying proportions, and partly because the academical, conventional, mercenary pseudo ethicists and moralists have classed so many

purely individual, morally indifferent qualities together with—and often placed them even above—the social or genuinely moral qualities, and finally because moral qualities exist so seldom and in so few individuals in a pure state, being as a rule contaminated with more or less immoral propensities. Thus charitableness, mercifulness, kindness, benevolence, sympathy, generosity, loyalty, solidarity, patriotism, humanitarianism, sociability, friendship, etc., are nothing but different names for various degrees and spheres of altruism; tolerance, liberality, radicalism, democracy, etc., are combinations of justice and altruism; prudence, courage, hope, patience, perseverance, etc., are—like health, strength, keen perception, knowledge—purely individual, non-moral qualities, which can be used for either moral or immoral purposes and may be found in both gregarious and non-gregarious animals; sincerity, frankness, communicativeness, humility, temperance, confidence, etc. are combinations of altruism or justice with purely individual qualities, such as truthfulness, curiosity, desire for knowledge, etc. What has been said about the cardinal elements of morality applies also—*mutatis mutandis*—to immorality: All the seemingly numerous immoral qualities, impulses, motives, habits or vices reduce themselves to two inseparable qualities, unfairness and offensive hatred or predacity, combined in various proportions, more or less tempered by fear, self-interest, reason, and sometimes containing a sprinkling of love or fairness; and those which can not be reduced to these two cardinal vices are merely personal vices, defects, weaknesses, which may or may not harm human society, according to circumstances: alcoholism, sexual perversions and inversions, laziness, etc. Reducible to either unfairness or offensive hatred or predacity or to a combination of both are the following immoral qualities: cruelty, harshness, hard-heartedness, distrust, reticence, intolerance, prejudice, venomousness, hypocrisy, treachery, underhandedness, malice, malicious fault-finding, greed, exploitation, deception, duplicity, diplomacy, envy, self-conceit, haughtiness, snobbishness, jingoism, despotism, craving for power, pugnacity, etc.

CHAPTER III.

Passive or Philistine Morality, Active Immorality or Predatory Parasitism, and Socialism or Anti-Parasitism.

PHILISTINE morality, like philistine religion, is mostly heteronomous, traditional, ready-made, customary, conventional, imitative, suggested, formal, legal, externally imposed, guided by fear, self-interest, or by the craving for social recognition; it is also narrow, clannish, tribal, contaminated by the spirit of competition. As a private individual, i.e., in his covert behavior, in his talk with his intimate friends, or with congenial people, the moral philistine remains behind the morality of law, custom, public opinion, which he enforces, recommends and professes as a voter, as a social member, as a public official (judge, preacher, teacher, writer, law-maker, law-executor, etc.), in his overt behavior, in his talk with strangers or mere acquaintances or with members of the opposite sex.

The higher morality, particularly the morality of the moral genius, is broad, cosmopolitan, co-operative, all-embracing, unconventional, adventurous, autonomous, instinctive, spontaneous, substantial, discriminating, self-imposed, self-rewarding, an aim-in-itself. As a private individual, the moral genius is far in advance of current, legal, conventional, customary, collective morality. He has very little understanding or respect for the philistine's dual moral behavior or careful discrimination between private and company manners, formal and informal affairs, etc.

The moral philistine has no moral needs, no moral aspirations and ideals; he acts externally morally, i.e., according to the requirements of law and custom, according to the form, letter, or garb of morality, as long as it is to his advantage to do so, as long as there are no temptations or no suggestions to the contrary. The moral philistine may be intellectually a man of talent or even a genius; and, *vice versa*, an intellectual philistine may be a moral genius.

The moral philistine is a morally inert mind with potential or dormant tendencies towards both good and evil, which tendencies need the additional personal impulse coming from a moral or immoral genius in order to discharge themselves into moral or immoral channels of activity. Just as the intellectually average man is not a man entirely devoid of intelligence, but merely a man who consumes his limited intellectual energy entirely on practical matters; just so a morally average man is neither a-moral nor immoral: he merely refrains from unpractical altruism, from altruism which would divert him from his personal or selfish pursuits, from his domestic and narrower civic duties. He is often wrongly accused of hypocrisy because, owing to his contradictory and mixed impulses, he may at one time be carried away by the altruistic motives and then undo his good achievements by allowing his evil propensities to gain the upper hand.

Just as the shrewder or more deceitful intellectual philistine, impelled by the lure of fame or material advantages, may work himself up to the next higher rank of an intellectually pseudo-superior man (imitative artist, pseudo-scientist, pseudo-philosopher); just so the shrewder or more histrionic moral philistine,

under the spur of vanity or of the desire for ease and material comfort, may work himself up to the rank of a morally pseudo-superior man: he may become a pathetic preacher, a liberal politician or statesman, a professional leader, reformer, etc. In reality the moral philistine is interested only in the welfare of particular individuals, and not in general welfare or the welfare and uplift of the entire human species, which is the concern of the moral genius; just as the intellectual philistine is really interested in particular, concrete experiences, in perceptions, and does not feel at ease or at home on the conceptual plane, the plane of broad, general or philosophic views, the dwelling plane of intellectual geniuses.

The common mortal is the most deceitful animal on earth; but he is a mere amateur in deceiving, that is, he practises it occasionally, disinterestedly, unsystematically, inconsistently, in self-defense, playfully, and does not rely on it for a living. Whereas the predatory individuals or genuine parasites have developed deception into an offensive method, a profession, an art, nay, a science (militarism, clericalism, advertising, journalism, strategics, tactics, diplomacy, commerce, politics, official, or pseudo-science, finance, etc.), into a method of living a smooth, comfortable, glorious life at the expense of their mere amateurish toiling fellowmen.

If the ordinary mortal poses as richer, more befriended, wiser and better than he is, it is merely because he desires to please his fellowmen, to make a good impression, to win their esteem, and to ward off scorn, oppression, exploitation; whereas the immorally deceitful individual poses in order to intimidate, subdue, dominate and exploit his fellowmen.

In the born actor, exaggeration, deception, posing, duplicity, dual personality, impersonation, has attained a higher level of moral refinement; it has become an end-in-itself, a fine art, an intellectual pursuit. In their private life, in the defense of their personal interests, actors and actresses are usually less skillful in deception, less given to posing, more natural, sincerer than average men and women. Only the moral genius shows himself always and to everybody as he is, and detests deception or posing under all and any guises; he detests it both as a means and as an end, both as a means of defense and as a means of attack, both as a serious and as a playful pursuit; he detests it everywhere, in private and in public, in the street and in the drawing room, with comrades and with strangers; and in his presence all poseurs, all conventional people feel either guilty or like fools.

The man of average morality or the moral philistine is just and altruistic in his acts—not so in his feelings and intentions—if he must. He refrains from injustice if he does not need to be unjust, if he happens to be in favorable circumstances. He takes advantage of others and becomes a parasite if he must, or if he can, if the opportunity offers itself. Whereas the true or active predatory parasite does not wait for opportunities to rob and enslave others or to live without giving any services in exchange. He is steadily on the alert for such opportunities, or he creates them himself, displaying sometimes a marvelous, though Mephistophelian, atavistic genius for deception, for tracking, waylaying, spying upon and trapping his victims. There are two kinds of active parasites or predatory philistines: extra-social and intra-social. The extra-social parasites break with human society; whereas the intra-social parasites do not want to renounce the advantages of social life. They give something in exchange to society

in the midst of which they live; only, they get a thousand times as much benefit. As a rule their services are rather apparent and go hand in hand with much invisible but nonetheless real damage to human society.

To the true, born, predatory parasite or anti-social individual, predacity, fighting, money-making, business, the subjugation or enslavement of his fellowmen are an aim of life, an end in itself, an interesting game, a freely chosen pursuit, and not a dire necessity, a *pis aller*, a means of self-preservation, as it is to the social individual. To him "right" and "wrong" means simply profitable and unprofitable, safe and unsafe. To him the main and only important classification of men is into exploitable and unexploitable, unsuspicious or "easy marks" and suspicious, into such as are to be feared, flattered, co-operated with or left alone and such as are harmless, easy or safe to fleece and "bully". His only ideal being to live in idleness and luxury on the fruit of the labor of the propertyless toilers, we understand why he regards the right to private property (or, more correctly, the right to income-yielding or labor-exploiting property) as the most sacred or constitutional right and radicalism as the greatest political or social crime, for radicalism (socialism, communism, anarchism, syndicalism, etc.) aims at compelling every able-bodied man to live by his own labor and not by taking advantage of other people's poverty.

By his own admission, the predatory individual's motto is "Never to do a thing that he can get somebody else to do for him". This means that his motto or guiding principle is never to waste his time on honest work but always to try to gain control over it or a so-called executive position; for there are always more than enough able and willing individuals in search or in need of work, who can be easily exploited by whomever holds the purse strings or controls the means of existence.

The predatory philistine lacks affection for his fellowmen and the democratic spirit of fairness. To him, might and right are equivalent. The only morality he can work himself up to is respect for the privileges of acknowledged older or more powerful parasites, submission to their authority provided they allow him to "bully" or exert power over smaller or weaker human beasts and to prey upon the toiling masses, willingness to acknowledge any predatory hierarchical organization provided he is allowed to join its ranks or provided it co-operates with the organization of which he is a member. As a child he bows before the physical bully, the bold, pugnacious, bodily strong individual, the gang leader who is ready to inflict bodily pain on those who refuse to pay him homage or do his bidding; and when he grows up and has to work for a living, he begins to cringe before the moral bully, the politician, the capitalist, the man in power, who is ready to deal moral or economic blows to all those who refuse to pay him homage, do his bidding, sing his praises. The predatory philistine is not a believer in human rights nor in equal opportunities for all. He only knows of privileges for himself and the mighty, and of duties for the weak and poor. The only moral code he can understand and learn to respect is military discipline, that is, a hierarchy of predatory privileges. He is incapable of and does not feel any need for affection; his only ambition is to be feared, obeyed, served without being coerced to give real services in return.

When young, the predatory philistines constitute themselves into gangs that openly defy the Law, plague and pester the neighborhood, peddlars, aliens,

attack other gangs and particularly the lone, gentler boys, indulge in thieving, destruction of property and the vices of adults. When grown up, some take to honest work from necessity rather than choice, and others evolve into intra-social, within-the-law, disguised gangsters constituting themselves into political cliques, cliques that usurp all authority in the various human organizations: they become bank directors, church elders, trustees of colleges, administrators, etc. Their combination into gangs, like the combination of wolves into packs, has nothing to do with mutual affection or sociability. It is simply prompted by cowardice and by the desire to rule, oppress, prey upon those who stand alone and the unorganized masses.

The intra-social parasite, the predatory or commercial philistine, is keenly and steadily on the alert to discover in his fellowmen any weak spot, foible, urgent need, vulnerable point, some shaky part in their reputation, some faults, transgressions, sins, shortcomings which they are anxious to conceal; and he uses his knowledge thereof as a whip wherewith he frightens them into doing his bidding and into yielding up to him the little possessions acquired by them. In all his dealings, throughout his apparently aimless, friendly chats or disinterested conversations with men, and while frequenting clubs, societies, social functions and entertainments, seemingly out of mere curiosity or love of companionship, he really goes around seeking whom he may devour, having steadily only one aim in view, viz., to stick his nose into other people's business and to extort from them as many personal benefits as he can. He does not waste much time in reading, in trying to acquire knowledge or constructive abilities, in solitary walks, in meditation, in reflecting on how to conserve or increase the resources of nature. His main preoccupation is how to draw all the benefit from other people's inventions, labor, talents, weaknesses, kindness, vices, ignorance, poverty, etc. He is badly in need of human society; he simulates great interest in individual men with whom he comes into contact; he displays a wonderful memory for their faces, names, affairs, doings; he abstains from uselessly and openly hurting anybody's feelings; he simulates tolerance for any opinions expressed in his presence, not because he likes companionship like the proletarian or producing philistine, but because and only insofar as it is in his interest to do so, and also because he feels helpless if thrown upon his own resources, i.e., if he has to eke out a living by offering his services to strangers. He understands how to bow before, and fawningly smile at, the stronger parasites; how to flatter those who are not in his clutches and whom he could not induce in any other way to give up some of their possessions; he also understands how to behave haughtily, proudly, patronizingly, and, if necessary, tyrannically and threateningly towards the weak, shy, and those whom he holds tightly in his clutches. He is a tyrant and a slave, a blackmailer and a flatterer, in one person. Nor do the parasites or human beasts of prey deal any better with their equals. Unlike the toilers, who even in the midst of the competitive conditions thrust upon them by their exploiters help their unsuccessful rivals and do not let them perish, the parasitical individuals seem to get along friendly among themselves as long as each holds his position or succeeds in keeping up the appearance; but as soon as one fails in his predatory pursuits, his former colleagues throw themselves upon him just as the healthy rats and wolves pounce upon the one that has fallen sick, and complete his ruin by relieving him of the little property that is left to him, and when his ruin is beyond hope, they sever their connection with him, turn their backs upon him with or without some

polite sham excuse. Of course, the parasites in real life do not all look alike, but present individual differences, or even redeeming features, and sometimes a touch of kindness. From the honest or producing men's point of view, however, these individual differences become negligible, and the parasites must be fought against as a class and not as individuals; for it is mighty indifferent to the welfare of mankind whether some of the individual parasites prey more mercifully than others, whether some are more anxious than others to appease their conscience with pseudo-charity, whether or not some regret on their death-bed the crimes which they have perpetrated during their lifetime, whether they skin others on principle or for personal reasons, from love for the game or from greed, whether the majority of the parasites are clearly or dimly conscious of their wrong-doing, and so on. It is regrettable that the parasites do not look more alike, that they offer individual differences which blind the toiling masses to the existence of an organized parasitic caste. It is regrettable that the parasites are not frankly and consistently wicked, for their isolated deeds of real or apparent kindness throw us off our guard, make us feel ashamed of fighting them with bitterness, make us hesitate and become sometimes less sure of the justness of our indictments against their pestiferous influence on human society. To the connoisseur, however, the one important feature of the predatory class stands out clearly, viz., that, although the parasites fight among themselves over the division of the spoils and the honors, they are unanimous in upholding the age-long spoliation system, that is, the system of robbing their social inferiors and the producers and of sharing the spoils with their social superiors, and in mercilessly hounding down all the champions of equity and of universal brotherhood.

Socialism or Anti-parasitism

Man is the only one of the higher vertebrates that even under normal circumstances preys not only on other species of animals but also on his own kind. And civilized man, in distinction from primitive man, exemplifies best the saying *homo homini lupus*, for he preys not only on other races, tribes, social groups, classes, families, but also on his own race, tribe, group, class, family. And woman (particularly among the upper classes of civilized nations) is the only female that exploits the sexual needs of the male. Man is the only animal which undermines the existence of its own species: by undermining the health and hence the producing capacity of the toiling masses, the predatory or parasitical classes undermine their own existence; by shifting the entire work, even the brain work, upon the exploited, the exploiters become aimless, helpless, indolent, vegetating animals. If animals, as a rule, do not prey upon their own species, it is because, owing to elimination by natural selection, all animals of the same species are equally strong and equally armed. An animal preys only upon other animals whose muscular strength or skill is inferior to his. If primitive man does not prey upon his own tribesmen, it is because all the members of a predatory tribe have the same occupation or equal access to the natural resources, form a compact, homogeneous group, and hence can prey only on such tribes as have no compact and military organization and are rather devoted to productive occupations or to extra-human parasitism (agriculture, cattle-raising, fishing, hunting). If the civilized man preys not only upon the so-called backward races but also upon his own group, it is because in addition to military force he also disposes of the more efficient concealed weapon called ruse, deception, hypocrisy; it is

because his own group is too complex, heterogeneous, split up into too many classes unequally armed or protected, unequally gifted, unequally organized and unequally endowed with deceptive ability; it is because the complex needs and the individualistic organization of civilized human society makes it impossible for the individual to satisfy his needs through his own exertions. If the women of the non-producing classes exploit their sexual charms and men's sexual longings, it is because the spirit of exploitation, despotism or privilege-seeking has become an almost general hereditary trait of their entire class.

What distinguished the intelligence of primitive man from that of animals was mostly and first the ability of using and producing tools. At first he used inanimate objects (stones, sticks, bones, etc.) as tools, as extensions and aids for his hands; and then he began to use animals also, after having domesticated them. This parasitic ability of shifting hard and dangerous work upon inanimate and animate tools, of hunting and domesticating animals, was later exerted on man, on weak or peaceful tribes. And when the opportunities for this group-parasitism or extra-social parasitism became restricted or exhausted, the more intelligent, the well informed, the more favorably situated and the more selfish individuals began to use their less intelligent, their ill-informed, less fortunate and good-natured fellow-tribesmen as tools or means in addition to animal and technical tools. All parasitical institutions (the church, the factory, the army, slavery, the present-day government, charitable institutions, etc.) are philistinizing or stultifying agencies. The human parasites try their best to repress all intelligence, all clear thinking in economic, social, political and religious matters, all critical ability, self-reliance, discontentedness and spirit of revolt in the hunted or exploited masses.

Socialism is the revolt of the hunted, of men-tools (slaves, wage-earners, subordinates, servants, etc.) against their parasitical exploiters; it is the revolt of the masses of slaves, voiced by their spokesmen, against having their minds and bodies ground into dividends for rich idlers. Socialism demands for all men the same benefit of leisure, freedom, education, travel, material and spiritual enjoyment, a smooth and harmonious course of life; socialism demands for all men the same privilege of shifting the hard, exhausting, mechanical work upon nature, machines, and as little as possible upon animals; and if there is any unavoidable residue of mechanical or muscular work left for men, it should be equally borne by all able-bodied individuals. As far as possible, every man should do the work he is best fitted for: the hard work should be done by the strong; the monotonous routine work, by morons and philistines; the planning, by intellectuals.

Socialism strives to harmonize human life, to bring about cooperation and love between men, agreement between theory and practise, to set free the spirit of love, ethics and higher aspirations which is imprisoned in books, sermons, baccalaureate addresses, within the walls of the church, but is not allowed to manifest itself in the speech and actions of every-day life.

Our modern pedagogues demand respect for the children's spontaneity or individualities; they demand that the teaching methods should be adapted to, or based upon, the abilities and interests of the individual children. But of what use, Socialism asks, is it to cultivate individualities if they have to be mercilessly crushed later in life when the struggle for existence is taken up. Of what use is it to awaken tastes, inclinations, sentiments, peculiarities whose later repression

will form a source of life-poisoning unhappiness? Socialism demands consistency between what we allow and promise the child and what we offer him when he becomes a man. Socialism demands consistency, continuity and co-operation between school ideals and life ideals, respect for individuality not only at school but also in practical life, in industry and in other fields of human activity. Socialism aims at securing for the adults the same rights to initiative, independent thinking, self-government, self-expression, pursuit of natural inclinations, recreation, self-imposed and restful work, happiness, as are now being advocated for children by the Montessori School and other pioneer schools.

Modern socialism is too much impregnated with the scientific, Darwinian spirit to attempt to change human nature, or to believe in the efficiency of changes imposed from without (by law, authority, arbitrary government, economic system). Socialism did not come to destroy ambition, self-love, human irritability and discontentedness, the universal desire to get most of the best things with the least effort, etc. It came merely to perfect human nature, to sublimate or refine it, to give it worthier objects of pursuit and more efficient means for their attainment. If altruism were antagonistic to self-love, and did not exist in germ at least in the human heart—in most human hearts, I mean—, socialism would not attempt to cultivate it. If, besides exploiting or enslaving our fellowmen, there were no other way of escaping hard labor or the monotony of sedentary life, and getting most of the best things with the least effort, socialism would not be so stupid as to work towards the abolition of our spoliation system. To preach socialism to intellectuals in a technically backward age would have been sheer folly; but in our age of machinery, railroads, telegraphs, newspapers, photoplays, etc., it becomes the most logical thing. If the only way of improving human society were through education, i.e., through unstable, difficultly transmissible acquired characters; if there were not the more efficient way of the cooperative system and of encouraging and facilitating the survival of individuals who present socially useful spontaneous variations or deviations; socialism would not undertake to weed out greed, cruelty, criminality, egotism, parasitism, etc. Socialism has nothing against the desire to exert power over external nature. It merely objects to the exertion of muscular power and of compulsory authority over men, but it welcomes the exertion of intellectual, freely accepted influences over the less gifted and less energetic fellowmen. Socialism does not deny that selfishness, the combative spirit, competition, parasitism, cunning, craftiness, hypocrisy, deception, secrecy, concealment, distrust, were very useful instruments for the non-gregarious man in his relations to the rest of the animal world; but such methods are atavistic and entirely out of place in the relations of the gregarious man to his fellowmen, and constitute the main stumbling block in his path towards a happier life. Even the bands of criminals could not prey upon society and escape the clutches of the police as often as they do, if their members would also rob and cheat and betray each other. Nor could our intra-social criminals (politicians, speculators, industrial pirates, financiers, etc.) prey upon the working masses, if they would use the same trickery with the people. If the intra-social criminal acts more or less honestly and sincerely towards his associates, it is because and so long as it is in his own interest to do so. If he were concerned with the welfare of his children and grandchildren just as much, at least, as he is concerned with his own immediate comforts, he would refrain from dishonesty towards the people or from social immorality which will surely recoil upon his descendants.

If socialism preaches against our competitive system, it is because competition breeds disharmony, discord, hatred, distrust, secrecy, selfishness, cruelty; it is because competition is either right from the beginning, or soon degenerates into, disguised warfare, and sooner or later leads to open war; it is because the liberty afforded by competition is for the honest masses a sham or merely a nominal liberty which, stated in unadorned plain English, amounts to saying: Every man may prey upon his fellowmen if he so chooses, and if he does it under the mask of employing them or of exchanging services with them, and understands how to use the Law, the Church, the Press as a shield. The only trouble with this kind of liberty is, in the first place, that it can not become generalized and, in the second place, an honest man can just as little choose to prey upon others as an herbivorous animal can choose to turn into a carnivorous animal. The liberty which socialism strives for is not the liberty of changing our nature or of acting against our nature, but the liberty of all honest men to live according to their nature.

If socialism fights against the capitalistic system, it is because the latter subjugates all our social institutions, and perverts them, i.e., it makes them become untrue to their mission and turns them into allies or mere tools of its own: The government is prevented by capitalists from outgrowing its military or predatory stage, and is compelled by them to become their secret ally in the exploitation of the people as well as of foreign nations; the church falls into the hands of materialists and hypocrites; the colleges are filled with the brainless, snobbish, fraternity-joining, pleasure-seeking, brutal, cynical, athletics-crazed sons and daughters of the well-to-do, and remain practically shut to the poor but real, knowledge-seeking students; the press becomes an intellectual prostitute, selling her favors to the highest bidder; the law is degraded to a mere shield for protecting the injustices and crimes of exploiters; the theatres cater to the sensuality and to the craving for stultifying, intoxicating fun of the enervated masses; the police is the ally, partner or exploiter of criminals, gamblers and prostitutes; marriage is a pure business and entirely divorced from love and reproduction; philanthropical institutions are mere advertizing and sin-expiating agencies for the rich, and disguised large-scale begging devices for the founders or leaders of these institutions; the high schools and universities do not prepare for a real, active, independent, socially useful life, but for a life of idleness, day-dreaming, dependence, parasitic leadership, snobbism, whereas the elementary schools train the children of the poor for the life of factory slaves; the press forms a conspiracy with capitalists, politicians and other exploiters to encourage and to exclusively intensify the interest of the people in ball games, horse races, prize fights, empty gossip, electoral fights, war scares, and in similar stultifying, childish, thoughtless, wasteful, regressive, injurious preoccupations and amusements, in order that the politicians may be able to carry on undisturbed and unnoticed their looting of the public treasury, and the capitalists their laying out of new predatory nets wherein to entangle the wealth-producing people while their attention is thus diverted. In short, under the rule of capitalism the majority of men are just as much haunted by fear, insecurity, the spectre of starvation, and are just as much endangered, unprotected, exposed to fall into traps or to be attacked unexpectedly by predatory and cunning human beasts, concealed in all sorts of ambushes, or disguised as leaders and benefactors, as are the weaker animals in the jungles. The sooner, therefore, we cease allowing ourselves to

be fed by capitalistic retainers on empty phrases, illusions or vain hopes, and endeavor to realize this horrible state of affairs, the better prepared shall we be to put an end to it.

Socialism, or, more correctly, anti-parasitism, is a struggle of the noble, higher elements of the social organism against the oppressive, inhibiting, degenerative multiplication and spread of the ignoble, inferior, expletive, connective element represented by merchants, middlemen, brokers, financiers, speculators, idlers, exploiters, parasitic superiors, mercenary pseudo-intellectuals.

The aim of socialism is to abolish the age-old predatory regime, with its crime, poverty, intellectual and bodily slavery or prostitution, unhappiness, stultification, drudgery, insecurity, by putting into practise the old wise maxim *sublata causa, tollitur effectus,* that is, by abolishing their causes, viz: private ownership of the means of existence, production, distribution or transportation and exchange; speculation, exploitation, rapacity, commercialism or profit-seeking, all manifestations of parasitism, including sex parasitism, unearned privileges, favoritism, idleness, autocracy, artificial and spurious values or aims of life. And the means or method of socialism consists in the democratization of human institutions, and in the municipalization, nationalization or internationalization of the means of production, exchange and transportation, according as they concern communal, national or international interests, and in leaving to individual care or initiative whatever concerns mostly the individual, or whatever can best be handled by each individual separately.

There is no real or permanent antagonism between socialism and syndicalism or industrial unionism. On the contrary, they form the two inseparable halves of anti-parasitism. Without fully realizing it, they work towards the same goal from two opposite directions: syndicalism from the center towards the periphery, and socialism from the circumference towards the center of our social organization. The syndicalists, industrial workers of the world, industrial unionists, work towards the democratization of the politics or administration of particular enterprises, industrial, agricultural, commercial, etc.; whereas socialism, in its narrower sense, works toward the democratization of general politics, that is, of the administration of general municipal, state, national or international affairs. The socialists will soon come to realize more fully that general politics can not be democratized without simultaneously democratizing the particular enterprizes where the voters earn their livelihood; and the syndicalists will realize sooner or later that the various industries can not be democratized without being financed or taken over by the community, state or country, whose interests are affected thereby. Guild socialism seems to have realized this fundamental harmony between state socialism and syndicalism.

Some Objections to Socialism

The antagonists of socialism, too, pose as pursuing the same altruistic aims as socialism; but when it comes to adopting the socialistic method, they begin to oppose vehemently, thus betraying the spuriousness of their professed intentions for *qui veut la fin, veut les moyens.* The more diplomatic or foxy antagonists admit that socialism is a realizable ideal; but it will be realized, they claim, only in a distant future, trying to insinuate thereby that it is not worth being striven for, as if an ideal could ever become a reality if not steadily aimed at.

The capitalistic philosophers and scientists, who selfishly resent the insistence of socialism upon the needs and rights of the stomach, and object thereto as being a prosaic diversion from the intellectual or higher pursuits of life, do not stop to ask themselves: If we, the well-fed, get irritated and feel disturbed in the enjoyment of our higher pursuits by the mere fact of having our attention diverted momentarily to the prosaic—but, alas, fundamental—question of the food supply, how much more irritating must it be for our disinherited brothers to have to toil, think, worry day and night, and how can they, whose meals are neither wholesome nor secure, participate in our higher pleasures of life, or how can they afford to entertain the hope of ever enjoying under the present regime enough leisure and freedom from bodily cares to be able to also dwell in the serene, calm, heavenly regions of poetry, astronomy, aesthetic contemplation or philosophic meditation?

It is strange that those who, with Herbert Spencer, object to socialism on the ground that men are not good enough for it, and hence will pervert it to base, selfish, tyrannical uses, fail to see that this objection applies as well—nay, with greater force—to their own half-measures, palliative, or superficial reforms, endless legislation, pseudo-philanthropy, political innovations, and to all and any human attempts to bring about peace, to mitigate the lot of the poor, wronged, or exploited. They fail to see that their objection, disguised under the cloak of a compliment, applies least of all to socialism, which goes to the root of human iniquity and oppression. They fail to see that by raising this objection they have furnished the best weapon that socialism can use against them and in its own defense. They fail to see that their objection is an unconscious betrayal of their own distrust of all governmental institutions and of the perverted use made thereof, and is exactly the same objection as is being raised by anarchism against all forms of government.

By objecting to the Socialistic regime on the ground that, if it gives to all men equal opportunity, security, access to wealth, it will also bring about laziness, lack of incentive to work and of initiative, corruption, free love (which with philistines is a euphemistic name for polygamy, sensuality, promiscuity, debauchery), the end of domestic life, degeneration, loss of manliness or fighting spirit, and other such evils of luxury—the plutes betray their own crimes, lay bare their own hideous life, and indict, without knowing it, the very regime which they wish to uphold and under which they thrive; for those evils are not the effects of all kinds of wealth (no matter whether personally acquired or stolen from others, no matter whether subject to collective control or to individual arbitrariness, no matter whether produced for use or for abuse and exploitation), but merely the effects and causes at the same time of usurped, predatory, income-yielding, privately owned and privately controlled wealth; laziness and robbery are twin brothers; polygamy, i.e., sexual greed and the treatment of women as tools for the gratification of selfish pleasure, is closely related to economic greed, rapacity, or the treatment of men as tools of production, (it is a well-known fact that the parasitic classes of the Christian nations are even worse polygamists than the Mohammedan and other non-christian exploiters); domestic infidelity or unfaithfulness to one's wife goes hand in hand with unfaithfulness to one's fellow-men; mental degeneration, i.e., the loss of the lately acquired intellectual and moral aspirations of mankind, also implies a reversion to bestial greed, cruelty, materialism, lust for destructive power, insatiable desire for snatching away

all the fruits of other people's toil; the plute's lack of ability, ambition, initiative, courage, patriotism, is due to the fact that his monopolization of the means of production, circulation and exchange enable him to hire the brains, inventions, labor and military services of the disinherited, and to compel the latter to work for him; the boasted incentive to work of capitalism is the incentive to work or *do* others, the only work that pays under the present regime.

Most antagonists of socialism consciously or unconsciously try to confuse the minds of the people as to the real dispute between them and socialists, by arguing as if the issue were between socialism and individualism in a vague metaphysical sense, between any kind of co-operation and any kind of competition, between association and isolation, between State interference and economical freedom; when in reality the fight is between honest work and parasitism, between altruism and egotism, between justice or equal opportunity for all and privilege or usurpation, between association for the benefit of all and association for the private benefit of a few. Socialists do not condemn competition in general, nor do they approve of all kinds of co-operation without any regard to the use made thereof. They approve of competition in the intellectual field; of competition for deserved honor; of competition that stimulates others to the same activity, tolerates rivals and harms nobody; of competition for the honor of doing more and better things for mankind; of productive competitition between individuals having an equal start and equal opportunities. But socialists are strongly opposed to the wasteful, unproductive and anti-social competition prevailing in the economical field of today; to predatory competition that is intended to harm, rob, do away with, rivals and to end in private monopoly; to competition aiming, not at increasing the wealth of mankind, but at monopolizing and getting it away from its producers; to competition between well-equipped, well-armed, rich, unscrupulous individuals and friendless, helpless, unarmed, honest, poor devils. Socialism is just as strongly opposed to dishonest co-operation: to co-operation between thieving political parties, to the alliance between exploiters and the government, to State interference as well as to State inactivity in favor of intra-social parasites, to the liberty of preying upon others. In short, Socialism, which is nothing else but applied ethics, approves of whatever is useful to mankind as a whole, of whatever leads to the general happiness and intellectual uplift of men, no matter whether it is brought about by co-operation, association, state interference, etc., or by competition, isolation, private initiative, etc.

The foes of Socialism resort to all sorts of tricks to scare the masses away from its alluring promises. One of these tricks consists in identifying Socialism with mass-slavery or with animal collectivism, which has evidently evolved at the expense of individuality and many-sidedness. These foes refuse to see that human and animal collectivism, like human and animal evolution in general, differ both in origin and in trend. While the communistic spirit of ants, bees, and other animals sprang from blindly groping instinct and tended toward protection against Nature and outside enemies, human collectivism springs from Inteligence and aims at protection against exploitation and oppression by one's own kind. While animal collectivism promotes the perpetuation and welfare of the species at the expense of the individual, crippling the latter by over-specialization, developing quantity rather than quality, unconscious rather than intelligent and voluntary co-operation, human collectivism strives to harmonize col-

lective and individual interests by developing quality rather than quantity, intelligent and voluntary co-operation rather than blind, instinctive co-operation, mentally harmonious or many-sided rather than specialized or one-sided individuals. Human evolution follows the path of Intelligence: It relies, therefore, on mental or active adaptation, that is, change of environment rather than on bodily or passive adaptation, that is, change of self, which is the favorite method of instinctive, chance or sub-human evolution.

Our confidence in, and idealization of, the socialistic movement does not imply, however, that all its adherents are deserving of the same confidence and idealization, but merely that they deserve more confidence and idealization than the adherents of other movements; even those who freely make a profession or a business out of socialism form a higher type of self-seekers; they must needs stand potentially, if not actually, on a higher moral level than those who freely make a business out of less socially useful or useless and even harmful but much more lucrative movements. Socialism, like every social movement (religious, ethical, political, economical, etc.), consists of superior and of inferior elements; only, in socialism the superior element constitutes a higher percentage than in other movements. Socialism, like every social movement, consists of the following elements: a great mass of nameless, mute, inglorious, inconspicuous, aspiring, suggestible men and women, who disinterestedly and confidently follow the minority of conspicuous leaders; the greater part of the conspicuous minority consists of hysterical men and women who avail themselves of any opportunity of exhibiting themselves, and of self-seeking men who make a profession out of the movement; the smaller portion of the conspicuous minority consists of ideal leading men and women, who in their turn draw inspiration and enlightenment from the unacknowledged leaders, that is, from the handful of inconspicuous, solitary, ideal, great thinkers scattered over the surface of the earth and over the ages.

My advocacy of socialism does not blind me to the fact that those who call themselves anarchists are morally the highest, that is, the most straightforward, sincere, fair-minded, peaceful, and altruistic type of men. But exactly for this reason they are unfit to overthrow our agelong predatory regime based upon trickery, treachery, egotism, violence, hypocrisy, intolerance. Exactly because they are peace-loving and do not enjoy fighting, they are liable, when provoked, to fight too recklessly, violently, openly, illegally, impelled as they are by the desire to be through with it as quickly as possible and by the vain hope of bringing about the millennium during their own lifetime, and thus defeat their own purpose. Only the congenitally pugnacious socialists, who as a rule and in practise do not stand much above the low moral plane of the capitalists, are able to expose the latter's hidden criminality, to fight them systematically with their own weapons and to catch them in their own legal traps; for the same reason that it takes an ex-crook, a reformed or penitent crook, to catch and unmask the incorrigible, unrepentant crooks. Whereas the genuine or born revolutionists can fight only theoretically, in books or lectures, against the predatory system, it takes a professional or pseudo-socialist (i.e., an individual with the instincts of a capitalist but with a certain amount of understanding or intellectual sympathy for the socialistic cause) to fight against actual, concrete cases of capitalistic robbery, to play the political game and to keep an eye on individual hirelings of capitalism. Theoretically, abstractly or broadly, a man may be acquainted with the

souls of men differing from him in mental type and moral character, and even with the souls of men of a diametrically opposite type; but practical, particular, concrete, detailed knowledge he can have only of men of his own type. That is why the scientific psychologist may be made a fool of by an ordinary man in the street or by a street urchin; that is why Lombroso, the great student of crime and criminals, was so easily "taken in" by all sorts of schemers; and that is also why the best men and women are unfit for leadership in the crooked and dirty game of business and politics, and must confine themselves to a merely critical, enlightening, indirect role, to teaching and writing.

CHAPTER IV.

Pseudo-Morality and Pseudo-Ethics. Professional or Pseudo-Moralists.

THE morally pseudo-superior man uses his rather apparently than really moral actions as a means to further his personal interests, his pursuit of fame and power. He strives for notoriety, social recognition, honor, power, without really trying to deserve them. He deceives others as he deceives and sophisticates his own bit of conscience—if any is left over—as to his true motives. He is anxious to appear what he is far from being. He is anxious to be considered altruistic, just, honest, law-abiding; whereas in reality he has not the least intention to be all that. The existence of so many pseudo-altruistic, pseudo-social reformers in our times, i. e., of men who make a lucrative profession out of politics, philanthropy and ethical movements, proves at best that we are on the way towards a more humane social organization; for all the arts and sciences, during their chaotic, immature, romantic, visionary stage, are more easily exploited by born or by circumstantial charlatans (astrology, alchemy, phrenology, spiritualism, sham-medicine or magic, faith-cure,. . . .). The morally genuine superior man considers honesty, virtue, truthfulness, altruism, merits as self-rewarding aims of his life. He never strives directly for notoriety, social recognition, honors. He tries first to deserve them. When he thinks of others, he banishes or postpones all disturbing selfish considerations. The morally semi-superior man considers honesty, altruism as both aims and means. He is honest, altruistic, even there where no personal benefit, no personal honor, will result; but his altruism becomes more active and zealous where such results are to be gotten. He strives simultaneously to gain and to partly deserve social recognition. He strives to appear more than he is. He wants to be regarded as more purely, more disinterestedly moral, less self-seeking, less vain than he really is.

The pseudo-moral man, the Pharisee, or the hypocrite, does not feel the least impulse to be altruistic, charitable, just. All he cares for is to make upon others the impression of being such a one. If an honest poverty-stricken man applies to him for assistance, his first thought and step is to let others know in a diplomatical way how charitable he is going to act towards that poor man; and the second step is to get rid of the applicant without helping him, for what further incentive to action is left if everybody believes that he has helped already? If he helps, he wants to have something palpable in exchange. Mere inner gratitude of a single, obscure individual does not satisfy him. He wants his *protege* to lower himself to the role of a flatterer, spy, moral eunuch, an advertising agent of his.

The pseudo-moral men constitute 99% of our intellectuals: priests, preachers, professional politicians, philanthropists, reformers and moralists, educators, ethical culture leaders, social superiors, popular men, rulers, leaders, demagogues. They are comedians, "poseurs" all their lives without betraying the theatrical element in their behavior. They bluff everybody, even insiders, their partners, most intimate friends, nay, their own wives and children, just to keep in practice,

if for no weightier reasons. All they do and care is to handle easily ethico-sentimental phraseology, outward and superficial expressions or gestures of pity, moral revolt, saintliness. They manage to remain on good terms with both ruled and rulers, exploited and exploiters, poor and rich, complainants and defendants. Their preachings or writings resemble those poems which sound like effusions of noble sentiments if read straight, but which unmask themselves as being the most ignoble, pornographic concoctions if every other line is skipped. Their preachings and writings consist, namely, of one text meant for the influential, parasitical classes, which is interspersed with the fragments of another shadowy, sophistical, humanitarian-looking text meant for and understood only by the poorer contributors. They resemble lawyers who would take upon themselves to defend both parties at the same time. They give to the people the shadow, the mere outward form of religion, morality, civil rights, knowledge, instead of the spirit, the kernel, the thing-in-itself. They who hunt for worldly pleasures and for all kinds of material, earthly comforts, condemn inexorably those among the poor who dare to protest against the life full of privations alloted to them, who dare to question and doubt the wise order of things, or of divine justice, who dare to protest against the hell they live in upon earth and are not willing to accept the paradise promised to them in a so-called future, eternal, spiritual life. Paul Lacombe's humorous definition of morality ("Those actions are moral which we expect others to perform") applies wonderfully to the moral character of these moral rigorists, professional preachers, or professional ethical-culturists.

The pseudo or professional moralists defend in a disguised, cowardly form what the insane, inconsistent philosophical genius Nietzsche defended openly and boldly and what he so fitly called "Herren-Moral" and "Sklaven-Moral", i. e., the anti-christian double moral code of the man-hunters or exploiters which prescribes for the hunted or exploited masses hard work, abnegation, uncritical obedience, self-forgetfulness, indiscriminate respect for the property and rights or rather privileges of the man-hunting or master class, self-sacrifice, contempt for pleasure and for leisure, self-restraint and so many other duties or virtues which the exploiters themselves and their hirelings never intend to practice. The pseudo moralists idealize the predatory or parasitic pursuits which Nietzsche had the courage to defend openly under the name of "der Wille zur Macht", or under the still more sensational name of "Umwertung aller Werte" (transvaluation of all values).

Pseudo, mercenary, capital-controlled, muzzled, conventional ethics, if it ever condescends to come down from the cloud-realm of barren, lifeless abstractions and artificial, fictitious problems to the concrete realm of human struggles and passions, begins to fulminate against the harmless, poor, undiplomatical, undisguised, detectable, defenseless, commonly persecuted, small offenders, while remaining silent about the dangerous, rich, diplomatical, disguised, undetectable, legally protected, commonly flattered or feared, large scale criminals who own or control the government, the courts, the police, the press and all the other public institutions. Only the unconventional, unsubsidized, unprofessional, unmuzzled, tabooed ethics of revolutionists dares to put the blame for the existing general misery where it belongs, viz., on the rich criminals—more correctly, on the criminal rich—, to point out the kinship between the latter and the poor criminals, and to shift the emphasis, responsibility, general scorn from the poor criminals upon the exploiters who drive them into a life of crime. Truth and

justice can not be expected from conventional ethics. Not from St. Paul, the hireling of predatory Rome, but from the humble, persecuted Galileans—from the apostles—do we learn that the conversion of the Roman parasites and slave-holders to Christianity was not a conversion at all, but a perversion, degradation of Christianity to a tool—much cheaper and safer than the soldiery—for killing the self-respect, critical judgment and resistance stirred up in the exploited masses by Jesus, that greatest champion of democracy. Not from mercenary historians and theologians shall we learn the true proletarian, democratic, economic mission of Jesus and the other prophets and the close connection between the spoliation regime and the religion that lays emphasis on ritual, dogmas and creeds, but from the excellent works "Sociological Study of the Bible" by Louis Wallis and "The Call of the Carpenter" by Bouck White.— We are still awaiting the unconventional, genuinely patriotic, truth-loving historian who will have the courage to rid history of its idealized versions of plunder, murder and graft; who will have the courage to clear away the dead weight of ancestor-worship, of the pseudo-patriotic worship of "the fathers", of military bullies or brutes, of fictitious dead heroes, of pioneers or settlers, and particularly of the early settlers of America who were composed mostly, not of idealists and seekers of religious or economic freedom (for idealists have always and everywhere been the exception and not the rule), but of immigrants of the adventurous, predatory, aggressive type, that is, of foxy seekers of booty, victims, power, plunder, land monopoly, whose selfishness, cruelty, greed, lawlessness, rapacity, intolerance, hypocrisy and slave-hunting spirit still linger in the blood of the modern American, even of the poorest wage slave, and threaten to bring about a demoralizing, world-devastating commercialism, imperialism and industrial slavery similar to that of ancient Rome, were it not for the regenerative influences of the millions of honest toilers that have come during the last decades in search of work, freedom and a more human life. Not from the official or pseudo-educators can we expect the spread of general enlightenment and of mutual understanding between races or social classes; for they could not enjoy the favor of the master class if they did not share its prejudices and if they did not act on the principle frankly admitted by the negro pseudo-educator, Booker T. Washington, in his book "My Larger Education": "Social prejudices are something that it does not pay to disturb. It is best to let sleeping dogs lie." As if prejudices, errors, false beliefs, superstitions were harmless, sleeping ideas without any influence upon human conduct and mutual relations.— Not from the high-salaried ministers and professional moralists, but from the unpaid, unwelcome, imprisoned agitators do we learn that large-scale, disguised, legally protected criminals, parasites or robbers look down upon, hate and persecute the small scale, undisguised offenders, not only because of competition but also because they see, and are afraid that others might come to see, in the latter the caricature, unveiling of their own hideous image, which they are so anxious to hide from view by means of all kinds of embellishments, by means of the praises sung in their honor by hired clergymen, moralists, historians, college professors and other so-called dignitaries; and mostly because they want to divert public attention from their own big crimes by drawing attention to, by making fuss about, and by causing the persecution of, petty crime. Thus the heads of hospitals, charitable institutions, asylums, etc., who use the poor as a pretext for begging donations or as a mere instrument for diverting part of the money immorally amassed by the rich into

their own coffers, are very hard on their less diplomatic or less fortunate twin sister, the beggar woman who carries in her arms a borrowed baby in order to obtain more liberal alms from the passersby. The college professor who does not feel ashamed to beg money from millionaires or from the government for the professed purpose of carrying on scientific, humanitarian or other investigations, but in reality for personal aggrandizement and enrichment, looks down with scorn upon the undiplomatic poor student who asks to be recommended for a fellowship, not so much because of the conventional reason for carrying on original research as because under present conditions it is very hard to pursue knowledge and to earn one's daily bread at the same time. The dignified college professor who remorselessly steals original ideas from some impecunious author, whose manuscripts traveling around from publisher to publisher happen to be submitted to him for his expert opinion as to the prospective sale of the books, or from his poorer students having no access to the channels of publicity, and who learns from his students while pretending to instruct them and to conduct their discussions, looks down upon the dishonesty of the poor private tutor who undertakes to teach subjects that he does not master because otherwise he would have to starve. The financial magnates who combine into trusts in order to extort exorbitant prices for the necessaries of life, are very prone to blame, and to stir up legal prosecution of, the grocery man, butcher, retailer, peddler for using false measures when competition has forced the retail selling prices below the purchasing prices. The bankers, promoters, speculators, monopolists, forestallers, members of exchanges, chambers of commerce or boards of trade—who water stocks and securities, manipulate the market, gamble in or corner the necessaries of life, set at naught the law of supply and demand, bear and bull the market so as to be able to prey upon both producers and consumers, ruin industries and agriculture and create panics, etc.—look down upon, and disown, their less harmful and less successful brothers, the money lenders, ordinary gamblers, counterfeiters, forgers of bogus paper money, pickpockets.—The owner of large factories whose monopolization of the market enables him to prey upon the consumers and also to offer a little higher wages and apparently more sanitary conditions to his workers, from whom, however, he has ways and means of squeezing out the last drop of vitality, is the first to set the police or the board of health loose upon the moneyless exploiters, the owners of sweat shops, whose only profit comes from underpaying their workers.—The so-called society ladies who prostitute themselves and their daughters for titles, luxuries, diplomatic favors (or for the good of their country as they prefer to put it), and who indulge in illicit, idle love affairs, shrink in horror from, and prudishly close their ears to, the tales of white slavery, prostitution for the mere daily bread.—The corporation lawyers who receive princely salaries from the thieving trusts in exchange for assisting them, either openly or disguised as senators, federal judges, etc., in perverting the existing laws or framing new laws for the purpose of furthering or shielding their large scale robberies—consider as a disgrace to the bar the poor "shysters" who merely in exchange for a few dollars assist the smaller offenders and business men in circumventing, distorting the law and in preying upon each other or upon the public.—In short: what poses as a fight of virtue against vice, of honesty against criminality, on being unmasked by genuine moralists, is seen to be in reality the attempt of successful, freely indulged, legalized, large scale, disguised, undetectable parasitism or immorality to idealize itself at the expense of,

and to find a scape-goat in, unsuccessful, compulsory, unlegalized, small scale, frank, detectable immorality. It is the age-old contempt of wealth for poverty, of success for failure, in a new disguise: the contempt of the rich bums, high-tone beggars, for their poorer brothers; of the large scale and shielded criminals for the cheap and hounded criminals; of prostitutes that go after titles and life-long privileges for prostitutes that must sell their bodies for a meal; of the big Wall street forgers and gamblers for their unsuccessful imitators; of high-salaried lick-spittles or flatterers for their cheaper or unemployed colleagues; of the big thieves whose business is taken care of by employees, by the courts and by the victims themselves for the little thief who must attend himself to his business at all sorts of risks; of the successful politicians or self-styled statesmen for the unsuccessful politicians; of the *ins* for the *outs*; etc.

Under the reign of exploiters, parasites, capitalists, the activity of the government must needs confine itself to sanctioning and supporting their spoliation devices, under the mask of protecting and guiding the people; it confines itself to mere talking about, and to endless investigations of, social problems, but it never thinks of really attacking and solving them. What is said of the government, holds of all other institutions which are directly or indirectly controlled by kings, nobles, plutocrats. Thus our academical and ecclesiastical economists, philosophers, moralists confine themselves to silently or openly defending the moral duplicity of the masters; they waste their powder in quarrels over useless, vague, mind-confusing definitions of, and arbitrary, non-existent, irrelevant discriminations between, words or terms which are understood by everybody and which, therefore, do not gain anything by being defined, nay, their meaning is obscured thereby. The capitalistic, academic ethicists confine themselves to mere nauseating, confusing, nebulous, empty, barren talk about, and endless rumination over, irrelevant, trivial, already solved, or insoluble problems, verbal, formal, dry, abstract, pseudo questions (such as: Is morality real? Is ethics possible? Is ethics a science or an art? How is knowledge possible? Demarcation lines between the field of ethics and of other sciences. Methods of ethics. Is ethics an independent or a merely historical, sociological, psychological, philosophical discipline? Which motives are prior, the egotistic or the social motives? Does feeling initiate striving or is it secondary to the latter? Does morality reside in intention or in result? Is our will free or determined? Is morality a law of nature or a social phenomenon? Is conscience an emotion or is it the work of reason? Is an act immoral because it is disapproved, or is it disapproved because it is immoral? etc.). They ignore or pass lightly over the essential, vital problems of ethics. They never think of going to the root of actual human actions and institutions. They postpone indefinitely the drawing of practical conclusions and advices from their misty theories. They try to prolong the reign of the exploiters by dissuading from social reforms or from putting moral ideals into practise, as if non-action and endless social investigations were preferable to experimental action. Misled by their fighting spirit, they deal with mutually inclusive or supplementary theories as if they were mutually exclusive or antagonistic (hedonism, utilitarianism or rationalism, and intuitionalism; determinism and libertarianism; individualism and socialism; subjective and objective moral criterion; the material criterion of hedonism and the formal criterion of Kant; materialism and idealism; teleological, vitalistic, voluntaristic, intellectualistic explanation of animal behavior and the tropism, mechanistic,

automatism theory; etc.). Like the other pseudo or academical scientists, the pseudo-ethicists vent their jealousies, their competitive impulses, in polemics about theories which in reality supplement each other.

Pseudo-moral men, self-constituted rulers and leaders, defend their usurpation of authority by the well known sophism that the uncivilized peoples and the masses of their own nationality, like children, do not know their own needs and interests, and hence must be disciplined, civilized, and taken care of against their own will. The analogy between the ignorant, uncivilized masses and children is far from an identity. The child is maladjusted to its environment, and there is no danger in putting the care of its interests into the hands of its parents, who, even if they have not enough knowledge or reason, have enough love to guide them and to prevent them from materially harming their children. Whereas the masses of grown-up philistines know very well their immediate, urgent needs; only intellectually are they not sufficiently developed to discriminate between real, disinterested, well-meaning leaders and teachers and professional, interested pseudo-apostles of progress. That our self-constituted leaders treat the people like children, and even worse, there is no doubt. The only trouble is that they do not treat the people with parental love; nor are the masses childish. The child protests energetically when its demands, even its artificial and unrealizable demands, are not complied with; whereas the masses of the civilized and uncivilized peoples are so stultified and so terrified that they do not dare to protest when their most urgent, elemental and justified needs are denied gratification, and when their most sacred rights and their personal liberty are infringed upon under the cloak of patriotism, religion, education, protection, civilization, etc.

When they wish to justify their robberies, misdeeds, misrule, the pseudo-rulers or leaders, the exploiters and their henchmen, shift the responsibility on to the people by inventing such sophistic pleas as "We must give the public what it wants," "The people want to be fooled", "The people get the government (church, press, schools, etc.) they deserve", etc.; but, when they wish to crush rival rulers, leaders or exploiters, and particularly labor leaders, they exempt the masses of all the responsibility and blame all the troubles of the latter on these "unscrupulous", "usurping", "predacious", "autocratic" leaders, rulers, adventurers, as they call them.

Pseudo-morality, pseudo-philanthropy, supplies the people of the slums with flowers when they cry for bread, with hospitals when the cry is for sanitary housing, with shallow poetry and useless knowledge when their empty stomachs cry for substantial food. Pseudo-morality teaches economy to people who have no opportunity of earning a decent livelihood; it makes much fuss about international peace while it perpetrates domestic war, fierce and pitiless competition; it is eager to save the people from the imaginary hell which is said to await them after they die, but it does not care to save them from the hell they live in here, on earth; it makes much noise about the conservation of natural resources while allowing a few predatory individuals to monopolize them; it mingles in the quarrels between other nations while it leaves domestic quarrels unsettled; it spends time and other people's money on purifying the language, on simplifying the spelling of three hundred harmless words, when there are so many corrupted institutions in need of purification and so many complicated political machineries which are badly in need of simplification, etc.

I wonder how our pseudo-moralists would behave if they were regaled with such ironically empty promises and consolations as they feed the poor on. It is easy for them, the well-fed, to console the starving poor by telling them that the poor of former times were still worse off; that they, the modern poor, can enjoy, i. e., feast their eyes on, many a luxury which in olden times even a king could not have dreamed of; that the amount of wealth per capita and the available natural resources have increased. But how would our benevolent consolers like it, if, when they are hungry, we should feed them on the recollection of the good meals they used to eat in the past; just as they expect us to appease our hunger by thinking of our starving ancestors? Why do they so lightly pass over the contradiction between the existence of so many starving men and the existence of abundant natural resources? Why do they neglect to tell us that an increase in the total national wealth and resources does not mean that the wealth and resources of every citizen have increased? It is easy for the well-paid preacher to tell his poor flock not to envy the rich, to whom their wealth is rather a curse, a source of cares, worries and responsibilities, and who, in spite of their wealth, can not eat more than three meals a day, or sleep in more than one bed. Only he forgets to mention that, although money is a curse, the rich cling fast to it; they thirst for more, and do not feel in the least inclined to exchange places with the more enviable poor. He forgets to add, with Alexander Bain, that if riches bring cares and ills, they also bring remedies. It is easy for the well-provided to preach patience and contentment to the disinherited; to tell them that their lot is not as miserable as the wicked and peace-disturbing socialists claim; to tell them that conditions are not as bad as they used to be, implying therein that conditions will become better of themselves. Do they really believe that the exploiters of their own accord will take pity on their victims and free them from slavery and destitution, even if the victims will not protest? Are they really so blind as not to see that every little improvement in the lot of the disinherited must be wrested from the hands of exploiters and rulers by force, and that still the latter find always a back-door through which they take back with compound interest these grudgingly granted concessions. Unable to deny altogether the existing misery and lack of employment, they try to console us by proving statistically that unemployment and poverty are decreasing. What that mysterious cause of this decrease is, they, of course, do not try to find out. Unable to deny the justification of discontent in individual cases and with the present, they try to make us believe at least that there is no cause for getting alarmed as to the general welfare of the nation, nor as to the future, as can be seen from the greater average wealth and higher salaries or wages of modern men when compared with the average wealth and wages of former times, as if a greater average wealth —even if we grant its correctness—could inspire hope and consolation, if it does not go together with a more equal distribution among the producers, and as if higher wages could buy any more goods than the former lower wages if the cost of living rises still higher. Unable to deny and to refute the charges brought by socialism against our parasitical system, they resort to accusing socialism of painting things gloomier than they are, and of leaving unmentioned the sunny sides of modern civilization, which they themselves have not yet been able to point out. Unable to deny the lack of opportunity in the East and in cities, our pseudo-moralists try to make us believe that such splendid opportunities are still to be found in the West, and in the country (on the farm). Unable to

convince us that we possess and enjoy more than before, they try to make us believe that others, whom we do not know and whom they do not know either, possess and enjoy more comforts and more opportunities of employment or of advancement than did our ancestors.

Professional or pseudo-moralists, while indulging in nebulous talk about ideals, duties, virtues, spirituality, selfhood, human worth, etc., are very careful not to point out in a definite, concrete, explicit way how an ideal, dutiful, virtuous man ought to act under various concrete circumstances; while with theatrical fearlessness and pathos crying out against iniquity, oppression, immorality, exploitation in the abstract, or, at best, against the well-known and no longer deniable tyranny of foreign openly and crudely criminal governments, they are very careful not to suggest any remedies for nor to mention a word about the disguised, covert, refined oppression, exploitation, robbery, criminality, terrorism going on in their own country or perpetrated by their own government; while seemingly preaching love, brotherhood, equal opportunity in order to divert attention from their cloven hoofs, they try to discourage the poor from indulging in justified discontentedness or, as they put it, in self-pity, from complaining against starvation, slavery, drudgery, hopeless and endless struggle, by advising them to pursue so-called spirituality, to look for consolation in the contemplation of other people's sufferings and in self-forgetfulness (as if hunger, insecurity, unpaid bills, impending eviction from one's home, could be driven out of one's mind), and by teaching them some more cruel nonsense of this sort. While magnifying the minor and bearable troubles of their rich patrons, whose hideous predatory nature they try hard to disguise, idealize or ignore, these mercenary moralists pass lightly over, and betray in many other ways their hidden callousness or indifference to, the serious, great, fundamental, unbearable sufferings of the exploited masses. The end of morality, says Felix Adler, is neither self-perfection nor general happiness, but something higher overarching both. What that something higher, which he in common with all theologians covers under the vague and meaningless word *spirituality*, consists of and how it can be ministered to, he was wise enough in his earlier works not to tell us, for he does not know himself nor does he care anything about it. The essential thing is that it is cheaper for his patrons, the wealthy or the exploiters of the people, to worry about and to pose as ministering to the spirituality, the unseen soul, of their victims than to minister to their visible overworked, ill-nourished and maimed bodies, to their tangible bodily and psychical needs here on earth. In his later works (which are but a rehash of his earlier ones) he unwisely attempts to nullify the above criticism by assuming a more humanitarian tone and by defining spirituality in terms of holiness, uniqueness, indispensability, organic structure, that is, in terms equally obscure or entirely irrelevant.

The advice given us by these mercenary moralists to draw consolation from the greater sorrows of the socially lower classes, is in keeping with or a mere echo of the battle-cry of our predatory economic world, where the big exploiters and the big grafters manage to maintain discipline among their subordinates by tacitly or expressly conceding them the privilege of preying and trampling upon the next lower class, and so on. If the big exploiters can afford to play the philanthropists, and if they appear to the men farthest down as more generous and humane than their retainers or than the smaller grafters and the hungry would-be grafters, it is because of our hierarchic scheme of exploitation which hides from

view the connecting links between the biggest exploiters at the top of the social ladder and their ultimate victims at the bottom.

Another class of mercenary moralists or commercializers of ethics, the Panglossian moralists, *a la* Leibnitz, try to hypnotize the suffering masses into stupid contentedness by calling attention to the harmony of the world and of human life when looked at from above, to the progress accomplished in comparison with our forefathers. The fact that the human species is a single, harmoniously and continuously progressing organism from the point of view of an outsider or inhabitant of another planet, or from a purely temporal, eternal, Comtean point of view, can not console us ephemeral beings and individual men; it can not make us resign ourselves to the inner conflicts of which we happen to be the victims. The inner discords, struggles and multiplicity of the human species are neither seen nor felt by such an outsider or closet-philosopher; but the insider and the proletarian philosopher are rather painfully impressed thereby, and very little aware of, or enthusiastic over, the outer harmony and unity or past progress. Moreover, outer harmony can not persist very long if the inner disharmony is becoming general; nor do things become better if we do not do anything to bring about such improvements.

The professional moralists, preachers, evangelists, ethical culturists, censors, reformers, social workers, leaders, politicians, etc., betray their cloven hoof—that is, their hidden though often mitigated predatory nature and their adherence to the predatory regime—in their reluctance to deal with the causes of and remedies for the existing social evils, misery, iniquity, exploitation, oppression, and particularly with the concrete, efficient, real, radical causes or remedies. They will do anything for the poor but to help them abolish poverty, which is the only way of helping them. They will do anything for the people but let them do something for themselves.

The ethical theories, teachings, advices of professional, plutolatrous moralists start sometimes from a few concrete human troubles in order to win men's confidence by simulating interest in their struggles; but, unlike the refreshing, invigorating, helpful, enlightening teachings of genuine, unprofessional, unpaid and commonly persecuted moralists, they soon wander away through the tortuous paths of sophistry, and lose themselves in the deserts of wild, empty, verbal speculation, without ever returning to refresh, fertilize and benefit the inhabited regions, the concrete realm of human struggles, fears, hopes, aspirations.

CHAPTER V.

Types of Anti-Social Individuals, Under-world and Upper-world Predacity, or Frank and Disguised Immorality.

THERE are three classes of anti-social individuals: (1) the frankly selfish, legally predatory or commercially-minded individuals; (2) the under-world, extra-social, proletarian, frank, impulsive, uncautious, rough criminals (bandits, thugs, ruffians, thieves, burglars, etc.); and (3) the upper-world, intra-social, within-the-law, hypocritical, disguised, cautious, self-controlling, deliberating, refined parasites and criminals carrying on their trade under the guise of patriots, inquisitors, witch-finders, heresy-hunters, detectives, censors, informers, lobbyists, politicians, diplomats, rulers, captains of industry, bosses or, more euphemistically, party leaders, financiers, speculators, organizers and leaders (particularly those of secret orders), guardians of morals, law and order, etc.

The frankly selfish, legally predatory, commercially-minded individual thinks too much and too exclusively of himself to take others into consideration. He often does harm without primarily intending to do so. He frankly confesses that honesty is nothing but a policy, that is, a mere means to an end, and very seldom the best policy. He declares as cranks all those who find any immorality in business practises. His main and only serious aim in life is money-making, profit-seeking, business, so much so that to him seriousness of intentions is synonymous with and best described by the expression "to mean business." He justifies his selfishness by pointing to the selfishness of the majority of successful men, by pointing to the lack of real solidarity, to the legality or universal approval of usury, interest, profit-seeking, exploitation, to the humiliation and contempt inflicted by organized charity upon the assisted poor, to the inexorable competition which necessitates disregard of other people's interests.

No objection could be raised against selfishness, and nobody could brand it as an immoral or anti-social quality, if every man were self-sufficient and were not in need of anybody else's services. Only in such a case would there be some meaning in the usual argument adduced by egoists, which seems so convincing to them, viz.: "Let everybody take care of himself and there will be no need of altruism", or "What is the use of minding another's business and leaving one's own in somebody else's care?" In reality, however, this *laissez faire* argument means: Let everybody try to get as much as possible from others and give them in exchange as little as possible; let the strong and unscrupulous prey upon the weak and honest. In plainer language, this cry against government interference is the cry of real anarchists, the cry of human beasts of prey.

To the purely or extremely commercially-minded, self-seeking individual, to the out-and-out business man, capitalist, money-maker, success-hunter, everybody and everything is a commodity that must be compelled to bring him in as much profit as possible, either directly or indirectly. If he is friendly, charitable, polite, helpful, sociable,. . . . ., it is only when and only so long as it pays to be so;

he is just as ready to change front if it becomes more profitable to do so. For to him money, personal advantage, is the only end, and everybody or everything else is but a means to this—to him only, quasi-religious, sacred—end. To him "personal advantage", "personal safety" are synonymous with "right", "just", "proper", "patriotic".

I call the proletarian or underworld criminal frank, not because he fights openly against the propertied class—it is too strong, too well entrenched behind perverted social institutions to be fought against openly—, but because he, like the juvenile criminals, acknowledges this state of warfare between him and the rich; whereas the rich or upper-world criminals, the exploiters, promoters, politicians, etc., I call disguised, hypocritical parasites and criminals because they try to persuade themselves and others that they are much concerned about the welfare of the toiling masses and of the nation in general whom they in reality rob and fleece continually, and even about the welfare and reformation of the undisguised (proletarian and juvenile) criminals whom in reality they revengefully hunt down like wild beasts. The upper-world criminals hide their robberies, cruelty, despotism under the cloak of social service, charity, leadership, etc.

The vast army of the unemployed and the congestion of the slums are sufficient proof that under our modern regime there are not enough "jobs" nor enough shelters for all. Since the only outlet left to the starving, shelterless, unemployed is either suicide, or beggary, or stealing; since suicide is strongly opposed by the irresistible inborn will to live; and since beggary is not only severely punished by law but also humiliating and as a rule non-renumerative; it follows irrefutably that the upholders of our modern organization, i. e., our rulers, legislators, leaders, employers, exploiters, disguised criminals, drive directly a portion of the toiling disinherited masses into extra-social, unlegalized crime. What meaning is then to be attached to the word born criminal? Is he to be called a born criminal who happens to be born into poverty, unemployment, enforced idleness, prospects of starvation, and who being self-respecting prefers to steal rather than starve or beg? Or is he a born criminal who happens to be born into plenty and opportunity to earn a living, and nevertheless prefers to shift the work upon others, and never tires of piling up more money than he will ever need, of usurping more property than he will ever be able to use? Is he a born criminal who having no chance to live in the midst of society becomes hardened to the miseries of unlegalized crime, fond of enforced idleness, and indifferent to the domestic affections or social advantages that are beyond his reach? Or is he a born criminal who, born into plenty, opportunity, leisure, idleness, remains hardened to the sufferings of those toiling for him, and unscrupulously tramples upon the hopes, aspirations, self-respect, virtues, chastity of the poor by using them as tools for the gratification of his selfish desires? Who is more truly anti-social or a born criminal: the proletarian criminal who responds to kindness and confidence with gratitude and loyalty, and who merely hates and robs the rich who drove him into a criminal career by harsh treatment, contempt, distrust, merciless exploitation, or refusal to employ him?; or the so-called respectable citizen who responds with harshness, treachery, contempt to the love, admiration, confidence bestowed upon him by the poor who work for him and enrich him? Who is the greater or more dangerous criminal: the outcast who, in order to live, openly attacks and robs those who are more blessed with worldly goods?; or the politician (office-seeker, privilege and authority hunter) who

uses the Law, Religion, Patriotism, Ethics, etc., as a cloak for preying and venting his cruelty upon subordinates, strangers, aliens, uncautious and therefore harmless delinquents, outcasts, the poor, the ostracized?

If we call the first mentioned type criminal or anti-social, there is much more reason for applying this epithet to the second type. If the born criminals of the first type have more chances of surviving imprisonment, persecution, hardships than those driven into crime, it is also true that the born criminals of the rich class have more chances of maintaining their privileged position or so-called social rank than those who acquire altruism, kindness, aversion to idleness and parasitism. If aversion to hard, unremunerative, despised, monotonous, health-destroying, externally imposed labor and fondness of enforced idleness is a criminal trait in the poor, how much more criminal is the aversion to any kind of work and the freely indulged-in idleness found in the rich? If stealing under the pressure of hunger and at the risk of losing life or liberty is a crime in the poor, how much more criminal is the greedy, unnecessary, unrisky stealing of public property by the rich? If it is a trait of inborn criminality in the poor man to take to stealing, not because he can not find any work, but because honest work is hard, enslaving, unremunerative, despised, much more insecure and by far less lucrative than begging, how much more of an inborn criminal trait is the stealing, usurpation, monopolization of property by the rich man, even if he has much more than he can use, out of sheer greed, insatiableness, rapacity, vanity? If it is a crime to steal from those who have too much of the worldly goods, how much more criminal is it to steal from those who own only their labour power or much less than they need? If it is true that the born criminals form a small minority of the class of poor criminals, the reverse is true of the rich criminals: all rich criminals are born criminals, nay more, almost all the rich are criminals in disguise. If he is a born criminal who happens to have the same tastes of idleness, luxury, sensuality, impulsiveness, vanity as the rich, but is born into poverty, i. e., without the means of gratifying the same; so is he a born criminal who happens to inherit the means of satisfying his anti-social propensities and of hiring others to do the looting for him.

If it is criminal on the part of the poor to steal in violation of the law, how much more criminal is it on the part of the rich to use the existing laws, the Constitution and the supposedly law-protecting institutions (courts, army, police) as instruments for their robberies; how much more criminal is it to hire and bribe legislators to create new laws intended to shield future robberies; and how cowardly is it to hide and intrench themselves behind consecrated, stereotyped, idolized legal formulas, conventions, phrases, fictions, precedents, and to refuse to come out to fight in the open daylight of common sense, plain talk, logical and matter-of-fact argumentation? The only way to get at these cowardly criminals is to demolish all those legal fetishes or idols in whose shade they find a refuge, to do away with all the nonsense about the sanctity of agreements, contracts, rigid formulas regardless of their content, import or aim, by abolishing the capitalistic system that breeds such dangerous nonsense. If we designate as unfit for survival him who, born in the slum to a life of congestion, dirt, disease, starvation, poverty, hopelessness, irregular employment, shame, oppression, danger, defenselessness, happens to be of a sufficiently atavistic, primitive, hardened, insensitive, obtuse, brutal type to resist all these sources of destruction, but who could also easily adapt himself to the smooth, clean, well and regularly fed, plea-

sure-seeking life of the aristocrat; how much more unfit for survival and how much more undesirable a member of society is he who, born to a life of leisure, lordship, security, privileges (rights without corresponding duties), exemption from work and even from thinking and self-preservation concerns, could not endure for a week the life of the slum without being destroyed, and whose only ability consists in giving orders and in wasteful, conspicuous, demoralizing consumption of what others produce?

If the proletarian born criminal who is but a throwback to savagery has no respect for human life and is callous to the sufferings he causes to others, it is because like all savages, his senses are also obtuse to his own ailments, his actions are largely impulsive or unpremeditated, and he is just as careless about his own life. But what excuse is there for the endless misery and crimes knowingly perpetrated by the refined, cultured, self-righteous gentlemen who are highly sensitive to their least bodily pain, nay, to their least bodily discomfort and to the slightest attack upon their reputation, and who will indignantly question my right to classify them among the intra-social or hypocritical criminals? How much more dangerous than the proletarian criminals are these soft-mannered, refined gentlemen called diplomats, rulers, leaders, representatives of the people, etc., who fatten on the blood of the toilers and who, for personal advantages or for the sake of glory, do not shrink from embroiling their nation in internecine warfare with other nations!

The hypocritical criminal, or what Lombroso mildly calls the criminaloid, expends his congenital cruelty in inflicting or rather causing others to inflict punishment and suffering upon those who happen to violate the outward form of laws, customs, religious beliefs, upon social inferiors who revolt against their unhappy lot; upon people belonging to other religious denominations, to disinherited inimical, or competing nations, etc. He tries to make himself and others believe that his victims are morally depraved, that cruelty and rigorism are the best correctives. He turns a deaf ear to him who says that cruelty, fear, compulsion or—more euphemistically—discipline, far from improving men morally, make them only more cautious, deceitful, foxy. He always ascribes moral, patriotic, or religious intentions to his selfish and cruel acts, and is very careful to give a moral or legal appearance to whatever he does. He exploits and oppresses under the mask of benevolence.

The hypocritically immoral individual excels in the art of covert, evasive, disguised verbal biting, insulting, and slandering. His apparently unmeaning, impersonal, or even well meaning words, and his words of seeming self-criticism are so phrased that only he for whom they are meant can understand them; they are so phrased that the venom contained therein kills, invisibly to others, only the person for whom they have been specially prepared; they are so phrased that their author, the verbal poison-mixer or the human biting dog, can never be convicted. Such a manufacturer of verbal venom has no direct hold, however, on the sincere, truth-loving individual whom nature has made inaccessible to, invulnerable by, the moral poison secreted by some human tongues.

It is in the nature of the hypocrite or diplomat to show his fellowmen more kindness than he feels or puts into his actions; nay, he shows most kindness—in words only, of course—, when he deceives, undermines, or deals them under-

handed blows. Beware of an hypocrite when he becomes unusually polite or friendly to you; and thank your good luck if he treats you unnaturally harshly; and best of all is to have no business with him. The more accomplished hypocrite is able to express exactly the opposite from what he innerly feels and secretly plans to carry out. He associates with his prospective victims in order to discover their vulnerable spots and in order to spy on them. The sincere man feels a slave and unhappy when he is compelled to bluff and to deal or associate with men about and with whom he is not allowed to talk openly; whereas the hypocrite, like the nocturnal predatory animals, feels at home merely in the darkness of falsehood, secrecy, conventionality, ambiguous or hinting language, and gets irritated when compelled to act in the daylight of truth or of publicity, or when unable to find an underhanded, dark way of dealing a blow to those who do not work hand in hand with him.

The hypocritical criminal preaches to others a life of drudgery, deprivation, self-sacrifice, suffering, blind obedience, which he himself would not accept for a single moment; for his parasitical and predatory instincts tell him that there must be slaves in order that he and his class, whose spokesman he *is*, may enjoy idleness, leisure, pleasure, power. Whereas if a gentle, frugal, chaste and abstemious philosopher like Epicurus, who confined his pleasures to merely intellectual and altruistic ones, preaches a healthy, pleasurable, natural life as the only worthy of being pursued, the hypocrites pounce upon him and tear his reputation to pieces by decrying him as a corruptor of morals, as a teacher of dangerous, decadent, sensual, voluptuous doctrines; just as they try to misrepresent any enlightener and disinterested leader of the people. They who secretly and continually violate and misuse the law, try to turn the wrath of the people against a handful of meek and peace-loving so-called philosophical anarchists. They who hold the masses in bondage and poverty, point to the socialists as the enemies of the nation, as the dangerous apostles of a coming slavery. They who carry on a secret, subterranean war in all the fields of human activity, try to stigmatize the truth-loving critics of our competitive system as rebellious, peace-disturbing people, as disturbers of the existing social order (?!). They who willfully, planfully and systematically repress truth, kill self-respect and kind-heartedness, and spread false doctrines and wrong information among the masses, accuse all clear, unambiguous, matter-of-fact, realistic writers of crass materialism—whatever that may mean—, of platitude or lack of profundity, of lack of idealism, of sensationalism, of "muck-raking", etc. They who rob, grind, and skin their own nation, point to the immigrants, Jews, Chinese, etc., as the cause of misery, of unemployment, of low wages, of a low standard of living, as if these poor starvelings—who are mostly imported or allured by capitalistic agents to immigrate into industrial countries—would refuse higher wages if they could get them. They who maintain their fellowmen in slavery, and mercilessly exploit the defenceless non-organized workers, cry out against trade-unions and closed shops as an attack upon human liberty in general and upon the liberty of non-organized workers in particular. They who have not the slightest interest in knowledge and in philosophical meditation, refuse the academic honors and degrees to the genuine, born philosopher who does not prostrate himself before the word-idols erected by them in the temples of pseudo-learning. They who have not the slightest interest in the welfare of the people, pose as rulers and leaders, and exclude all patriotic, altruistic and noble-hearted men from the administration

of public affairs under the pretext that the latter are too soft-headed, visionary, unpractical and incapable of leadership—of bluff and sham leadership, they ought to say. They who use public property for private purposes and for their personal benefit, they who use the law for private revenge and hide their immoral pursuits under the cloak of moralizing movements, accuse most loudly the socialists of undermining the sacred right of individual ownership, of destroying the home, of sowing the seeds of lawlessness, etc. They who degrade Religion to empty talk, to a business, to an accomplice of crime and of exploitation, brand and persecute the genuinely religious individuals as heretics, renegades, infidels, atheists. In short, the hypocritical criminals accuse the sincere and disinterested defenders of mankind of exactly those crimes which they themselves are guilty of. They always try to use the innocent as scapegoats for their sins. Thus Christianity, that early international of 1900 years ago, was charged with the most atrocious deeds, made responsible for all social evils, and stigmatized by the pagan Roman parasites as a revolt of unchained appetites, as a gospel of dangerous and subversive doctrines preached by irresponsible revolutionists and haters of the human race; exactly as the modern Christian parasites speak of and act towards Socialism and its leaders. I am afraid that just as the parasites of 1900 years ago have found a way of accepting the outward form of Christianity and of smuggling in their parasitical pursuits under a Christian cloak, just so the modern parasites, when they will realize that Socialism is too advanced to be repressed, will accept outwardly its dominion but will invent some new secret channels for continuing their predatory excursions and for shifting the hard work upon the honest and sincere. One hope, however, they can not prevent Socialism from fulfilling, viz.: the hope that the ghost of starvation, insecurity and unemployment will cease haunting and enervating the toiling or producing masses.

Just as the honey-bee, which uses her poison or sting merely for defense, does more harm to herself than to her aggressor, and often causes her own death, for the poison is probably secreted at the moment of irritation or provocation and hence the tissues of the bee have not had sufficient time to become immune from it; and just as animals (some snakes, scorpions, etc.) that steadily carry with them their poison as a means of attacking and killing other animals have themselves become immune from their own poison (according to Metchnikoff, the suicide of scorpions is a mere fable); just so with men: the so-called hot-tempered rash, hot-blooded, quarrelsome, that is, openly irritable individuals, whose hatred, criminality, psychical poison is aroused at the moment of provocation or insult and finds no ready destructive channels for discharge, suffer more from the consequences of their fury and justified indignation than their enemies; the criminal by passion or the emotional criminal is at bottom and under normal circumstances a harmless, honest, socially useful individual; the only venomous men and women who are a scourge to mankind are the unemotional, cold-blooded, reasoning, deliberating, self-controlling criminals whose destructiveness is well canalized and who steadily carry around a store of hatred, psychical poison, malice ready to be discharged through various channels into some harmless, inoffensive, unprotected, unwary victims.

Only he is a moral individual who acts towards others as he would wish others to act towards him and his beloved ones if the roles of agent and recipient

were the reverse. The genuine moral individual does not expect more justice or more love from others than he gives them. The altruist gives more love than he expects. The selfish man expects love or material benefit in exchange for very little or even for mere words of simulated friendship. The frankly selfish individual does not expect love, at least he does not ask nor does he feel the need for love, because he feels that he can not give any. The hypocritically selfish individual feels flattered when love is shown him; but he feels annoyed by love that expects real, and not merely verbal, reciprocation. If the selfish man is also cruel, then he does not shrink from harming others in order to draw benefits therefrom. The born, genuine, frank criminal consciously harms others for the mere pleasure of harming, for the mere pleasure of feeling his own physical, intellectual, or social power. The hypocritical or masked criminal harms and exploits others, while making them and himself believe that he is acting for their good.

The selfish, vicious individual, the liar, the self-seeker, is not willing to admit the existence of really unselfish, truth-loving, ideal, virtuous men; because this would bring in its train dissatisfaction with his own self, it would bring self-indictment—and self-indictment, self-criticism, is always painful, hence avoided, except by the individual who is on the way of reforming himself. The vicious, the self-seekers, favor individuals of their own kind, and also individuals whom they consider as belonging to a lower social class. But they hate and persecute idealists, virtuous individuals whose mere sight is a painful disturbance to them, a painful reminder of their own moral shortcomings. The vicious man prefers to give no thought to the existence of virtuous people; or—if they obtrude themselves on his attention—to explain them away, to reduce them to vicious people in disguise, or to corrupt them if the first two methods are unpracticable. He does not want to overtax his consciousness and his conscience by endeavoring to understand the nature of individuals belonging to different moral and mental types, when it is more comfortable and self-flattering to ignore the existence of such a type or to entertain preconceived opinions about it. The hatred of the materialistic, wicked individual for the idealist is similar to the hatred of a spinster, having married a widower, for her step children; she hates the mere sight of them, for it reminds her of her past failure to marry in due season the ideal man dreamed of. The idealist is more tolerant. He is not anxious to remove or suppress the ignoble individuals; he merely wants to reform them, if possible, to direct their anti-social proclivities into useful channels, or at least to prevent them from harming others. His self-love is not wounded by the latter's existence obtruding itself on his attention. His self-love is rather flattered to some extent, although his love for mankind is wounded thereby, especially if he sees no hope of reforming the wicked. If the poetical, ideal, virtuous man desires and tries to reform the prosaic, materialistic, vicious men, he does it, not for his own sake, but for their sake and for the sake of mankind in general. If the ignoble individual, in his turn, tries to drag the noble-hearted men into the mire of prose and of vice, he does it for his own sake, he does it in order to silence the weak voice of his dying-out conscience, in order that he may not be reminded of and tortured by nobler aspirations which are beyond his power.

The hypocritically immoral, unchaste, selfish individual often simulates sincerity, especially with critical listeners or onlookers, i. e., he speaks openly about his acts, as if he were unconscious of the intention underlying them or of

the gravity of their effects. He takes refuge in this apparent sincerity in order to appear less guilty, or even innocent in his own eyes and in the eyes of his listeners. Or he does it—reckoning on the approval of silence on the part of his polite or morally coward listeners—in order to console himself, in order to persuade himself that he is not much worse than his listener, who by his silence, by his abstaining from criticism, often by his cowardly half-expressed approval, seems to show that he too would have been able to act in the same way, the opportunity being given.

A criminal, a predatory parasite, who is conscious of and irresistibly dominated by his wicked intentions, and who foresees the disastrous consequences that will result for his victim and probably for himself, acts underhandedly, hypocritically, in the dark and is anxious to idealize his motives and overt actions; whereas he who is driven into crime by being wronged, provoked, insulted, and he who is not conscious of the fatal consequences of his crime, acts frankly, openly, overtly, in the daylight, without idealizing or embellishing his motives and behavior. And, conversely, he who is naturally frank in whatever he does, in what he does unintentionally, unreflectingly, has difficulty in acting hypocritically, even if he happens to act out of bad motives; whereas he who is naturally, instinctively a hypocrite in whatever he does, has difficulty in acting sincerely even if he does act sometimes under the impulse of a good motive. For simulation, showiness, spectacularity, ostentatiousness and dissimulation, secretiveness, working in the dark, conspiracy, form the two inseparable components of hypocrisy. He who is noisy about, and exaggerates, the little goodness or semblance of goodness he has in himself, is also apt and anxious to underrate, ignore, hide from the public eye, or idealize his real wicked or vicious nature. The ideally honest and sincere man neither hides nor displays and obtrudes upon others' attention either his good or his bad side. The saying *Defend me from my friends: I can defend myself from my enemies* means in reality: *Defend me from my enemies disguised as friends, against my open or overt enemies I can defend myself*, and hence goes to show that the diplomatic, disguised, hypocritical criminal, parasite, exploiter, despot is dimly recognized as being not only more dangerous but also more perverse—because congenitally so—than the frank, undisguised type. Those hypocrites in whom the dissimulative component (taciturnity, hiding, reticence, secretiveness, etc.) predominates over the simulative component (popularity-hunting, self-advertising, self-exhibition, public speaking, social amenity, interested sociability, diplomacy, showiness, etc.) are less dangerous, less successful because less trusted, less confidence-inspiring. The same is true of sincerity and honesty: The vainly honest people who like to display their merits are not as useful to mankind as those who are indifferent to public opinion because the former are compelled to pay more attention to the outward form, to momentary, trifling and immediate public services than to the content and to permanent, fundamental but slowly rendered services.

The despotism, terrorism, intolerance, coercive or repressive legislation of the parasitical, ruling or master class is the external, social cause which drives men to hypocrisy (mendacity, diplomacy, underhandedness, sneakingness, secretiveness, etc.), to hide their opinions and to work secretly, in the dark, so as to make themselves as little conspicuous as possible. This acquired habit of acting in the dark, of acting in the hope of not being found out and as if no account were due to anybody, leads to the habit of acting without any concern for the

interests of others, which in its turn leads to the habit of acting against the interests of others. In short, despotism, oppression, dependence, or fear impels to secretiveness or dissimulative hypocrisy; this leads to passive, unintentional immorality, which in its turn grows into simulative hypocrisy, active immorality. Whereas democracy, economic independence, tolerance, freedom, are the external, social causes which favor the survival and growth of sincerity, i. e., of the habit of acting in the daylight, of acting as if others had a right to look on. Sincerity is a good preservative against immoral action, against action unconcerned about the harm that might result for others. And, conversely, immorality is the internal, psychical cause of hypocrisy, habitual lying, for the immoral individual can not carry out his bad intentions openly and with impunity at the same time; whereas the moral individual can afford to be and hence to become sincere. So that—although conscious hypocrisy and conscious sincerity are *per se* neither moral nor immoral, and may occasionally be used for either purpose—it is safe to assume that instinctive and habitual sincerity is an indication of a fundamentally honest character, and that secretiveness, reticence, instinctive or habitual lying, is a symptom of inborn dishonesty, of hidden evil intentions. Likewise in the sphere of intellectual morality: The intellectually honest or truth-loving man can afford to speak sincerely, plainly, unambiguously; he can afford to offer his opinions to others and welcome theirs without any preliminaries, previous introductory and laudatory remarks, beating about the bush and putting out a feeler, just as the men-loving, altruistic, genuinely sociable individual approaches others and allows himself to be approached by them without any so-called formalities of introduction. Whereas the intellectually dishonest or vain, fame-seeking individual, who wants to give himself the appearance of being more original, learned, public spirited than he really is, must use an insincere, ambiguous, confusing, hypocritical, over-technical, conventional language.

Even in its stupid and annoying manifestations—such as the frank fault-finding, obtrusiveness and inquisitiveness, with which the poor in general and the Jews in particular are credited—, sincerity still remains superior to its hypocritical counterparts. Sincerity may become annoying by running into excesses, into cynicism or extreme unconventionality, and into bluntness, but it can never become as dangerous as hypocrisy; for sincerity goes together with more or less unselfishness, love of men, spirit of fairness, which atone and compensate for the sins and errings of its extreme forms; whereas even the kindness, flatteries and gifts of hypocrisy can never be whole-heartedly enjoyed, for one never knows how long they will last, what is expected in exchange, how many invisible strings are tied to them, and whether they do not carry some hidden dagger or poison. The directness and open inquisitiveness of the poor may become annoying, especially to those who have no reason to be proud of their doings and real, private life; it may intrude too far into the precincts of individual privacy and into the sanctuary of conjugal intimacy or of heart affairs. But, in the first place, it can be reasoned with, brought back within permissible limits, and in the worst case it can be avoided. And, in the second place, I prefer a thousand times this stupid inquisitiveness and obtrusiveness of the proletarian philistine to the disguised, hypocritical, indirect, covert, inescapable inquisitiveness of the aristocratic philistine, of the high-tone or wealthy people. I prefer it a thousand times to the capitalist's spy system, to his method of fomenting and sowing the spirit of mutual distrust, competition, espionage among his employees, to his method of

poisoning the hearts of his dependents with the perpetual fear of losing rank or position in case they betray any discontent with, disrespect for, or low opinion of his doings. I prefer a thousand times the proletarian philistine's annoying directness to being shadowed by the pseudo-superior man's hired detectives and to being compelled to suppress one's opinions, to play the goat, to prostitute one's soul, to talk platitudes on account of being continually spied upon by ambitious colleagues who are eager to prove their loyalty to and thus find favor with our common parasitic superiors by throwing suspicion upon the loyalty of others, by simulating anxiety about the reputation of the chiefs, by keeping the latter informed as to how they are looked upon or spoken about and as to whether any member or champion of the downtrodden masses has intruded into the ranks of the privileged or of the capitalistic hirelings in spite of the many indirect and secret precautions taken against such intrusions. I prefer a thousand times the philistine's open attack upon, his ridiculing or belittling of, intellectual pursuits (for he gives me also a chance of arguing out the matter with him, if I only care to do so) to the exploiter's disguised intolerance of many-sidedness and of higher intelligence, which he expresses, not in words, but in refusing to employ, in blacklisting, and in driving thus into starvation the individuals who are not contented to be mere tools of his. I prefer a thousand times the philistine's overt belittling of the superior man's abilities and usefulness (for open criticism, even if carried to extremes, will ultimately lead to genuine democracy and will teach everybody to know himself and not to attempt what he is not fit for) to the exploiter's not openly defended but none the less inexorably enforced artificial hierarchy in which every man must know his place, which in capitalistic lingo means that he must know the place assigned to him and not the place he is fit for; he must show reverence for those in power, even if they are scoundrels and masked criminals; he must treat others according to their position or rank and not according to what they are or do; he is not supposed to know whether he deserves promotion; he is not supposed to have opinions, a reason or will of his own, although he is expected to outwardly behave as if he had; whatever and whomever his superiors like or dislike he is expected to like or dislike, too; unless he is a past master in the art of cringing, he must keep out of the way of his superiors, unquestioningly do their bidding, and not stick his nose into their bluffing or predatory schemes nor into the dark machinations of other human beasts of prey with whom his superiors are on good terms or whom they do not care to irritate, just as in the jungle or forest the weaker animals must keep out of the way of the stronger beasts; etc. I prefer a thousand times the philistine's senseless and endless talk (which at least reveals the true character of the man, which does not compel one to rack his brains in order to get at its meaning, and to which one need not listen if he so choose) to the aristocrat's reticence, his ambiguous or vague statements, his mystifying and heart-poisoning or mind-disturbing hints, his apparently polite suggestions which in reality are strict orders to be literally complied with, his apparently casual or stray remarks which in reality are threats, his seemingly carelessly thrown-out hints or ambiguous jokes which in reality amount to accusation, terrorization, blackmailing of the most dangerous kind because too subtle and evasive to be laid hold of by our bone-headed, shortsighted judges. I prefer a thousand times the philistine's explosive outburst of anger venting itself in open threats, harmless curses, profane language, or even brutal violence (for it is harmless at bottom, it can be easily pacified, and

soon evaporates) to the biting or sarcastic, outwardly refined language, to the chilling formal politeness, to the sly insinuations, veiled threats, and to the hidden, untiring, inextinguishable, bloodthirsty vindictiveness and silent, underground warfare of the human parasites who underhandedly and undetectably deal out their deadly blows to the "marked man", and who keep the ghost of fear constantly hovering over their victims, make them distrust and fear everybody and everything, even their own shadows, thus poisoning every moment of their lives. I prefer a thousand times the ruffian—who is ready to use his fists in order to enforce his requests, silence criticism and impose his views or will—to the polite, well-mannered, gentlemanly or disguised ruffian who uses the muscles and weapons of organized society, the legal machinery, for bullying, oppressing and muzzling his fellowmen; for the former is in a minority, not very exacting, easy to recognize and to shun, whereas the latter is ingratiating, obtrusive, hard to get rid of, and his legal blows not only may ruin one for life but also undermine men's confidence in the protective power of the Law, increase their cowardice, mutual fear and distrust, thus aggravating the very evils which the Law was intended to remedy. I prefer a thousand times the brutal gangster and gunman who kills his victim outright and quickly with a material weapon to the refined, respectable disguised murderer who shrinks from the use of knife or pistol but unscrupulously kills his victim in a slow, deliberate, covert way, with moral and economic weapons, by killing his reputation, credit, chances of earning a living, by diabolically frustrating his every effort, thwarting his most cherished ambitions, throwing out veiled threats to keep him worried and fear-haunted, thus gradually sapping his vitality, driving him to despair, insanity and premature death, and cruelly rejoicing over his desperate struggles to hold on to life.

BOOK TWO

Moral Appreciation of Individuals, Doctrines, Institutions and Social Movements. Moral Diagnosis.

LA BISERICĂ

I

Un întreg norod stă cufundat în evlavie,
Cu fețele smĭerite, cu ochiĭ rugătorĭ.
Toți își pun speranța'n Cel ce trăĭesce'n vecie,
Luĭ își deschid sufletul și inimile lor.
Apoĭ se'ntorc la a vieței muncă neobosită
Cu inima de necazurĭ ușurată,
Se mângăĭe de a lor ticălósă ursită,
Tot așteptând pe acel fericit "altă dată".

II

Iar pentru mine pustĭŭ e Cerul, nelocuit
De nicĭ un Părinte prea bun și protector,
Mĕ simt un atom din Universul nețărmurit,
Destinat sĕ lupt, ĭar nu sĕ fĭŭ răbdător.
Și strig poporuluĭ, ce trăesce in umilință:
Nu asculta vocea Bisericeĭ trădătóre,
Ea te menține în a ta lungă suferință,
Ea te lasă sĕ rĕmăĭ obĭect de exploatare.
De unde răbdarea ajuns-a ea o virtute?
De unde resultă din dreptatea prea zeĭască,
Ca uniĭ sĕ țină pe ceĭ-l-alțĭ în servitute,
Ca uniĭ sĕ geamă, ĭar ceĭ-l-alțĭ sĕ chefuĭască?
Deschide odată ochiĭ, poporule asuprit:
Ce josnică trădare în șefii-țĭ veĭ demasca!
Aĭ forțe mult maĭ marĭ, decât ți le-aĭ închipuit.
Luptă! și victoria va fi sigur a ta.

—O. L. S.

Zürich, June 1898.

CHAPTER I.

Criterion of Morality. Subjective and Objective Criterion. Measurement of Morality. Formal Criteria.

WHATEVER tends to maintain the existing social order or equilibrium is legally or statically moral. Whatever tends to bring about genuine democracy, equal opportunities for all, general uplift, progress and happiness, is dynamically moral.

In ethics, the subjective criterion is prevalent, i. e., the criterion which lays emphasis upon the intention, conscious aim or end of our actions, upon our will and feelings. Only verbal philosophers will go on quarreling whether morality resides in intention or in results, and teaching as an unsolved problem what is an established fact among boys in the street whose first and all-important question when hit, hurt, or called names, is: did you *mean* it? Ethics does not make us responsible for the results of our actions, because the consequences depend largely on external circumstances, on our knowledge, intelligence, experience, foresight; and because it is easier to give knowledge and guidance to him who has good will or moral intentions than to implant good will in him who has mere knowledge of what is good and moral; as well as because he who has a good will can always be trusted to do what he knows to be right and to make amends for whatever harm he may have caused to others unintentionally, whereas the evil-minded individual who knows what is legal and what is illegal always finds a way to carry out his evil intentions under cover of legality and even of morality.

A little bit of reasoning would convince our polemical academicians that the distinction between motives or intentions and results of human actions, and hence the distinction between the subjective or ethical and the objective or legal criterion of morality, is entirely artificial and not worth while fighting about; for motives or intentions are nothing but anticipated, desired, aimed-at results; and, vice versa, the results for which man can be held responsible are nothing but the materialization or realization of motives. Now, if our academical philosophers mean by results merely those aimed at, then there is no cause for dispute between the adherents of the two criteria. If, however, they judge human morality by all and any consequences, no matter whether foreseen and aimed at by the agent or not, then they betray more foolishness than the courts which, although they are the embodiment of moral philistinism or of moral short-sightedness and word-idolatry or form-worship, show—when not engaged in the defense of predatory interests and when not interfered with by political influences—more sense than our university philosophers by holding men responsible merely for the results aimed at, either as means or as ends. To hold a man responsible for the unintended, accidental and unforeseeable results of his actions would be just as foolish as to hold him responsible or to give him credit for somebody else's actions over whom he has no control. Intentional results always reveal system, method, a regular course or plan of action.

The subjective criterion reads as follows: Moral action is action primarily intended to contribute towards the maintenance, or furtherance, or both, of

general progress and happiness, and towards relieving human misery. In other words, moral action is action dictated by love for mankind and hence intended to produce socially useful effects. What is moral for the individual is useful for the community, society, and the entire human species.

Just as the attraction between men or things can not be measured directly, but is best measured by means of the force required for separating or dissociating them, just so is the hold of moral and of immoral rules and intentions on a man's heart best measured by means of the amount (market and subjective value) of money, popularity, social prominence, material personal advantages that is required to make him depart from those rules and intentions, or that he must part with in order to comply with or adhere to the same. Thus, he who departs from moral rules when his very existence or the existence of his family is at stake, stands certainly on a much higher moral level than the capitalist who consciously sacrifices the health and welfare of others to the mere gratification of his own greed or vanity. The poor man who parts with a hard earned and badly needed dime to help a still poorer fellowman, is certainly far more charitable than the rich man who parts with unearned and to him dispensable millions of dollars. He who regretfully departs from morality when driven by external or internal compulsion, is certainly more attached to it than he who abandons it voluntarily merely because the opportunity of acquiring some additional comfort or wealth offers itself. When one is strongly and genuinely attached to a virtuous, domestic, well-regulated life, then the mere picturing of himself as departing therefrom, as indulging in irregularities or vices, horrifies him almost just as much as actual departure and indulgence; just as he who loves intensely shudders at the mere thought of his beloved ones as suffering, as meeting with an accident or death, as being estranged or torn away from him, and is almost just as much alarmed by the mere picture of such a possibility as he would be by the actual experiencing of such a calamity.

The sincerity and strength of one's attachment to a cause or an ideal is tested with the same touchstone as friendship or attachment to individuals: Just as "a friend in need is a friend indeed", just so a sincere leader, a sincere adherent to a cause, such as socialism, pacifism, etc., defends it and remains true to it, like Liebknecht, Jaures, Rolland, Debs, Nearing, Haywood, G. F. Nicolai, etc., even when it is as yet or when it has become again unpopular, risky, unprofitable, the butt of ridicule and persecution.

The subjective test or criterion of the constancy, purity, sincerity, strength of an affection, as well as of a belief, opinion, conviction, is the inconceivability of its opposite—that is, the individual's inability and repugnance to experience or to imagine himself as experiencing the opposite state of mind—, a criterion wrongly believed by Spencer to apply to the judgment of the truth or objective validity of beliefs and convictions. Another subjective criterion of the sincerity and strength of our affections, beliefs, opinions, is our willingness or readiness to act upon them.

The objective criterion or test of the genuineness of general or collective affections, such as love of justice and democracy, love for mankind and one's people, etc., is their reducibility to particular affections, or affections towards particular, concrete beings, and these particular affections in their turn are genuine if they translate themselves into adequate, appropriate actions; just as the

test of the objectivity or truthfulness of a concept or general view is its perceptional substratum, its reducibility to concrete experiences or perceptions, which are tested in their turn by their reducibility to sensations or elementary feelings. Any professed general affection or view that can not be thus reduced or decomposed is illusory, an empty abstraction, a meaningless phrase, pure sophistry or hypocrisy.

The morality of an individual, being a subjective or inner value, can not therefore be measured adequately and infallibly by the objective or outer results or by the social usefulness of single actions, for the coefficient of efficiency depends upon the amount of guiding knowledge which the moral individual possesses. Moral energy acting blindly, guided by pure emotion, may achieve nothing or even give negative or socially harmful results. Just as our technological knowledge enables us to transform the latent energy of coal, water, oil, tides, winds, waterfalls, etc., into industrially useful work, just so does our knowledge of men and of human society enable us to transform moral energy into socially useful work.

But the morality of larger classes, the morality of masses, is more adequately measured by its social consequences than the morality of single individuals; for the moral energy of masses can not be entirely misused or misdirected by a minority of shrewd selfish individuals for the furtherance of their own interests. Willy-nilly, these shrewd selfish leaders of the people have to do something in the interest of the general welfare in order to win the people's sympathy and collaboration; for the masses, although intellectually blind and simple-minded, can not always be fed with impunity on mere appearances and illusions.

Strictly speaking, we ought not to speak about moral acts, but about moral individuals, and moral intentions. For, if a moral act is a socially useful act, then all socially useful acts of animals, the useful waterfalls and winds, etc., ought to be called moral; nay more, even criminal acts acquire the right of being classed among moral acts, because they often have unintentional, indirect or mediate socially useful consequences, just as pain is indirectly useful to a living organism for it gives alarm in case of derangement. The founding or supporting of a university, church, charitable institution, etc., by financial kings, can not be called a moral act, because, even if it produces some socially useful results, it can not help doing on the whole more harm than good. For the founders' real intention being to advertize and immortalize themselves, to win power, control over and the favor of the people, to prevent critical inquiries into their criminal business methods, we understand why such institutions will employ only plutolatrous, noisy, notoriety-seeking intellectual prostitutes, will give honors and prizes only to hypocrites and self-seekers, i. e., to people who are very far—if not the opposite—from being socially useful. Such institutions exert a baneful selective influence among intellectual men; they kill indirectly the ideal intellectual men, by shutting their doors to such employment-seekers. Hence, failure to secure or to keep a position with such Mammon-worshiping institutions is the best testimonial that one can get as to one's moral character. Institutions supported by financial rulers are inevitably infected—as is mostly noticeable in American universities and other privately endowed institutions—by the commercial, profit-seeking spirit which subordinates everything—truth, beauty, love—to self-interest and class-interest.

But if we want to retain the expression "moral acts" and "moral institutions", let us then always understand them in the sense of being intended to become socially useful, although they may not always succeed in becoming so. Whereas acts or institutions which have not been intended, but merely happen to be of some social usefulness, can not be considered as moral. Experience teaches that even institutions founded in a moral intention degenerate if they are not continually animated, or at least frequently rejuvenated, by a moral spirit in the leaders and by a moral atmosphere created under their influence. This being the case with institutions intended to become moral, what can we expect, then, from pseudo-moral institutions that thrive on tainted money or, more correctly, on "blood money"?

Formal Criteria. Just as Spencer's formula of evolution touches merely the outer form of it, just so does Kant's categorical imperative lay hold on the mere dry, lifeless shell of moral evolution, of moral ideals and duties, while it drops the nourishing, energizing, life-giving kernel of all morality, viz, the pursuit of general uplift and happiness. Kant's abstract principle "Act on maxims which thou canst will that they should become universal laws" or "act as if the maxim of thy will were to become, by thy adopting it, a universal law of nature," never prompts men to moral action. It is certainly desirable and necessary that any moral habit, any virtue, should become universal, i. e., should be practiced by all men. But how and why shall we act morally, the categorical imperative does not and can not tell. The categorical imperative is simply despotical, it demands blind obedience to abstract duty. The monarchical-despotical regime under which Kant had to live, reflects itself, although in an ideal and purified form, in his categorical imperative. As we see, not only literature, but also philosophy, which is in most respects in advance of its age, reflects the real life of writers and of their contemporaries in a more or less idealized form. Had Kant been the citizen of a republic, his moral law would have surely been much loftier, less formalistic, and more substantial. But as a citizen of an absolute monarchy even a philosopher of Kant's genius and inherited honesty could not and dared not be far in advance of his age. It is certainly a proof of Kant's high morality that he dared in his second version of the categorical imperative to do what the self-seeking Wundt in our comparatively democratical times still refrained from doing: He dared, namely, to proclaim that every man must be treated as an end-in-himself. But even this more material formulation of the categorical imperative does not touch the real kernel of morality. For to treat every man and oneself as ends, and never as means, would mean to give up all social life whose very purpose is that everybody should be willingly instrumental in increasing the security and happiness of all and of himself. True morality does not only demand that no man should be used against his will as a mere instrument for the furtherance of others' welfare; it also requires that every man should try to be just as instrumental in increasing others' happiness as—if not more than—he expects them to increase his. Whoever that ancient philosopher was who formulated the ethical principle "*Neminem laede, immo omnes, quantum potes, juva*", he certainly was farther in advance of his time in ethical matters than Kant was of his.

It may be remarked in passing that the imposing and seemingly original Kantian categorical imperative, about which so much ink has been spilled by our

phrase-mongering official philosophers, when stripped of its dazzling academic garb and translated into plain, honest language, unmasks itself as being the simple, generally accepted (in theory rather than in practice) moral commandment "act as you expect others to act", which expresses in a more general form the same ethical axiom as is expressed by the old maxim "do unto others as you want them to do unto you".

A theologico-sophistical, hence empty, meaningless and ridiculous, caricature of Kant's categorical imperative is offered with undisguised claims to originality by Felix Adler in his latest pseudo-ethical work, pretentiously styled "An Ethical Philosophy of Life", which, like its predecessors, is nothing but an insipid rehash of old theological-ethical vagaries, platitudes, sophistry, word-juggling and cant tinged with an imitation of Kantianism and with pseudo-humanitarianism. According to him, the moral end to be realized, the moral rule of action, should read: "Act so upon another as to evoke in him and conjointly in yourself, in the same movement and counter-movement, the consciousness of the interlacedness of life with life, the reciprocal, universal, infinite interrelatedness", or more briefly: "Act so as to bring out the spiritual personality, the unique nature of the other". It goes without saying that such a perverted vague version of the moral rule lends itself to any purpose and can be used to excuse cruelty, harshness, despotism, deceit.

Another purely formal conception of morality declares all departures from law, custom, tradition, public opinion as criminal, insane, morbid, forgetting that this means to declare the inert, conservative, imitative, philistine element as the only moral, sane, healthy; it means to throw away in the same bag progress, originality, altruism and regress, eccentricity, anti-socialness. Such a definition of crime, like all the definitions that stick to the form and utterly disregard the content, must needs prove misleading, unreliable, pervertible, empty.

Even clear-headed, intellectually honest thinkers are not entirely free from such formal, empty formulas. Thus we find in Spencer moral conduct defined as "definite, coherent, heterogeneous conduct", a definition which does not mean anything and which could just as well be applied to immoral and non-moral conduct.

Betrand Russells's criterion of morality, or definition of the good life as one inspired by love and guided by knowledge, although saner or more sober than his ventures into metaphysics, is as worthless a moral guide as are the aforementioned formal criteria of morality, owing to its tautological nature and vagueness: In the first place, it should not have explained goodness in terms of love, for the two concepts are identical; and, in the second place, it should have specified what kind of love and knowledge is to constitute the good life, for it is evident that love can not equally embrace mutually exclusive things—good and evil, virtue and vice, beauty and ugliness, constructiveness and destructiveness, etc.—and that not all objects of knowledge are equally good or worth pursuing.

CHAPTER II.

Difficulty in the Application of the Moral Criterion.

(a) Difficulty of Applying the Subjective Criterion to Concrete Cases.

IN ethics, like in engineering or in any applied science, general or conceptual knowledge (laws, rules and formulas) can not relieve us entirely of the painful duty of thinking about, examining and evaluating every particular case or situation in which the general rule or moral criterion has to be made use of. The criterion of morality is no magic formula by means of which we can, without any mental effort and work on our part, compel the true verdict about any moral situation to appear full-fledged before the mind's eye. It is true, conceptual knowledge helps us to economize our mental energy and facilitates our thinking about particular cases. But it can not exempt us from the task of considering, pondering and judging every particular event in the light of its own antecedents, concomitants and consequences. Ethics is therefore unable to approve or disapprove human actions *a priori* and *en masse*, human acts which happen to bear the same name (suicide, lying, adultery, theft, ruse, etc.); for "*Si duo faciunt idem non est idem*". Every moral act must be judged individually, and not only in the light of general principles, without any regard to the agent and his environment. For general statements are true only of classes of facts taken as classes, and only partly true of the particular facts; what is true of a whole, of a group, does not necessarily hold of its parts, of its members. (Thus the superiority of civilized peoples over the uncivilized, and of the city over the country—being due to co-operation, specialization, division of labor, better opportunities, and to small progressive minorities—does not imply the superiority of the average civilized man and of the average city dweller over the average uncivilized man and average villager, respectively; on the contrary, under the present competitive, industrial regime, the former are intellectually inferior to, less resourceful, less complete, less normal or many-sided and also less moral or social than the latter.)

The inconsistency of moral philistines, the contradiction between theory and practise of pseudo-superior men, is not always due to deception, duplicity, hypocrisy, that is, deliberate exaggeration, simulation, dissimulation. If preachers, educators, politicians, spiritual and temporal leaders do not practice what they preach, it may be due sometimes or partly to the fact that they feel differently on the stage, on the platform, in the pulpit, in the study, under the impulse of vanity or the craving for glory, towards crowds or men in the aggregate, than they feel privately, under the influence of everyday material pursuits, towards individual, concrete men and women. Likewise, if many a poet does not live up to the noble feelings and ideas expressed in his poems, it does not mean that he composed his poems without feeling: it merely means either that he does not feel in everyday life what he feels in moments of inspiration, exaltation, emotional climaxes, or that the object of his feelings is an ideal, fictitious man or woman, and not actual, concrete specimens. And what is often taken for hypocrisy in women and in emotional men is only emotional instability and disharmony, that

is, their inability to harmonize, fuse, combine, strike a balance between, prevent the simultaneous or alternating sway of, their mutually antagonistic feelings towards one and the same object or person, such as love and hatred, good will and envy, helpfulness and antagonism, domineering and sociable intentions, etc

The fact that morality resides in intention renders the appreciation of detached or isolated moral acts extremely difficult. For one may act altruistically at his own risk because he is under an hypnotic spell, or because he does not realize the risk he will have to incur, or because he can not resist the social pressure and the desire to show off; another one has time to foresee the personal sacrifice just because his moral impulses are too weak to impel him to prompt action; another one refrains from risky moral action, not because his morality is weak, but because he has other moral responsibilities as father, son, etc., with which his mind is steadily occupied. Some do not act as they preach because their morals are still in the embryonic stage; and others do not live up to their preachings because their morals are decaying; etc.

(b) Why and to What Extent the Immoral Are Not Fully Conscious of Their Real Intentions.

Any predominating idea exerts a powerful suggestive influence on the direction and content of our streams of thoughts. It mistakes, ignores, suppresses, represses thoughts that do not agree with it; it evokes thoughts capable or willing to strengthen it, to stand by it; it even lends sham reality to imaginary constructs in order to frighten away rival ideas. The individual in whom self-love and self-conceit rule supreme and exclusively, is therefore inaccessible to such truths and to such affections as demand self-forgetfulness, self-knowledge. The cruel self-seeker is blind to and impatient with whatever does not further his ends; he is blind to the socially fatal consequences of his immoral actions; hypnotized by his despotical selfish pursuits, he refuses to follow up any thought, or any perception that does not agree with them; under the influence of auto-hypnosis and of hired panegyrists or hired hypnotizers, he lends reality to imaginary states of affairs which would bring his behavior into a more favorable light if they were real. Only the man whose ruling idea is love for truth, or love for his fellowmen, leaves wide open the gates of his mind and the gates of his heart; he welcomes every thought, every idea, to the forum of his consciousness, every human and living being is sure of his sympathies, of his *Mit-Leid* and *Mit-Freude.*

Men can not permanently play comedy or live in continual divorce and contradiction between feeling, thinking and acting, between theory (conviction) and practice, between private and public (professed) opinion, between private and company manners or behavior. Even in the most incarnate hypocrites and perverse individuals there is the imperious need of some sort of unity or harmony—be it artificial, verbal, imaginary, sophistical, auto-suggested—; for it is not easy to play a role that we do not feel or believe in, it is not easy to pose as a personage we do not wish to be, we can not with impunity split our attention and personality into two independent personalities. In such a case, we end by conforming our acting to our real, inner convictions, or by sophisticating our inner convictions until they become practically indistinguishable from the mean convictions imposed upon us by a *force majeure* and by selfish or vain aspirations,

or we adorn and disguise the latter so as to give them the nobler appearance of the former, or we develop a double moral personality: a refined one for display or public use and a coarse one for private or everyday use.

We can not judge a man by his exceptional acts, but we can always know him from his habitual actions. For, as we have shown, a man can not act permanently against his convictions, against his intimate nature ("*Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret*", as the Romans said). He can not suppress his convictions without losing them and without adopting those by which he allowed himself to be guided in his action. The habitual acting betrays the real motives and intentions of the agent, of which the agent himself may not be fully conscious, especially if such a self-acquaintance would not flatter his self-love; but he is dimly conscious of his real mean or selfish intentions, for otherwise he would not conceal, adorn, sophisticate them, he would not be ashamed to profess in public his private moral code, he would not shrink so anxiously from self-scrutiny, and would not become irritated against naive idealists who dare to draw his attention to his real character, he would lend an hospitable ear to any social reformer, no matter how utopian.

There is no absolute or deliberate hypocrisy. The hypocrite or moral coward by dint of concealing and suppressing his own convictions ends by losing them, and by dint of professing opinions he does not share, he ends by sharing them, with or without some form of mental reservations; by dint of suppressing his displeasure or anger and allowing it to accumulate he becomes venomous; by dint of not acting upon his natural inclinations he ends in atrophying them; by dint of concealing the truth he becomes unable to think the truth; by dint of suppressing his own thoughts, he ends by not thinking them any longer, he ends by hating the truth-lover who reminds him of his former natural thoughts, just as a parvenu hates those who remind him of his humble origin; by dint of simulating friendship for influential, successful, or liberal persons, he comes to feel, or to believe that he feels, real friendship for them, he becomes unable to distinguish the true from the simulated sentiments; by dint of deceiving others he ends by deceiving himself or by becoming incapable of and averse to self-analysis.

When the selfish, the immoral, the hypocrites, ... defend themselves against, and resent, the accusations of the moral critic, they do so partly in good faith, i. e., they do so partly out of an auto-suggested conviction that their actions are also guided by unselfish, moral, sincere motives. For it is so natural with them to behave unnaturally; it is so habitual with them to act selfishly, sophistically, insincerely that they are not fully aware of the underlying motives; and it is also so much in their nature to show off, i. e., to give an unselfish, rich, moral, sincere, poetical appearance to whatever they do or say, and to avoid non-remunerative or unflattering self-scrutiny, that they are not fully aware of the shallowness and pure verbalism of their alleged noble intentions. The fact, however, that they feel uneasy and often alarmed when performing their tasks in the presence of, let alone in co-operation with, a moral critic, as well as the fact that they resent with much bitterness and hatred even his impersonal criticisms, and their anxiety to keep all moral critics out of their ranks or out of their employ, go to show that they are not entirely unconscious of their rapacious, hypocritical nature and that the indictments directed against them by moral geniuses are objective, valid, based on facts.

The capitalistic hireling (preacher, educator, journalist, public official, lawyer, overseer, etc.) is right in a certain sense when he protests against the socialists' charge that he has been muzzled by the rich. His case is still worse than his socialistic accusers imagine: He did not have, namely, to be muzzled, for he was born that way; hence, he is not fully conscious thereof, and is therefore better fitted for his mercenary position than a congenitally frank and outspoken individual who has to be muzzled and continually watched. He is worse than the capitalists whose secret accomplice he is and to whom he is congenial at heart; for he poses as an impartial friend of both exploiters and exploited. He does not need to be muzzled, for he agrees at heart with the exploiter, and, in addition to this, his hidden selfishness, love of luxury, ease and fame are a much safer guarantee than the mere fear of starvation of the honest intellectual proletarian that the will never betray the money-bags who have it in their power to make and unmake his reputation.

The fact that the rich or parasitical classes persecute, hate and keep away from, socialists, and become irritated at the mere sound of the word "socialism," proves that they are not quite ignorant, innocent or unconscious of their guilt, of their real predatory position in human society, of the crimes of which socialism accuses them. It proves that they know enough about socialism and its indictment to shrink from closer acquaintance therewith; they are sufficiently aware of its import to anticipate the unpleasantness of, and hence to turn their minds away from, a more intimate acquaintance therewith; they are sufficiently convinced of the moral strength or truth of socialistic contentions and of the weakness and immorality of their own position to refrain from arguing, discussing, or intellectually fighting out the matter.

The pseudo-superior man could not intoxicate the philistines with the mere sounds of grandiloquent words if he himself were not half-intoxicated by them; he could not dazzle and hypnotize his audience with meaningless, incomprehensible, seemingly mysterious symbols, rituals, formalities and ceremonies, if he himself had completely outgrown the childish stage of sweet self-deception, of staring in wonder at and resting satisfied with the outer appearance of things and the mere sound of unusual words; he could not compel word-idolatry if he himself were not arrested in his mental development—although at a somewhat higher stage than the masses—at a stage of half-sincere word fetichism, where one is not able or not bold enough to penetrate beyond the dazzling externals, beyond the awe and terror-inspiring high walls of linguistic castles, of mathematical and magical formulas, in order to get at the reality hidden or merely supposed to be hidden behind them; at a mentally childish stage where one thinks that valuable truths can not present themselves in simple and common linguistic garbs. The pseudo-superior man is not aware of the self-contempt, of the low opinion of himself, which he betrays by his unwillingness to admit that deep meanings, valuable truths, may lie within or rather behind the words commonly used and supposedly understood by him.

The hypocrite who has a remnant of, or only an embryonal, moral conscience, is in need of self-deception before attempting to deceive others. The born liar, the born impostor, on the other hand, who is morally blind, knows very well that he deceives, and is very proud of what he considers a special ability, a mark of higher intelligence. He assumes that everybody does the same, and

that if some do not cheat it is because they do not know how. In reality, however, the born liar is very seldom intelligent. He who fools others is usually in his turn a victim of other impostors, he is unable to ascertain to what extent they are lying, he is unable to extricate the element of truth from the texture of falsehood. He fools in the conviction that nobody can get a glimpse into his soul. into his inner thoughts and feelings, just as he feels unable to get behind others' real intentions and meaning. Whereas the sincere, truth-loving man is naturally inclined to think that others are like him, that they hate to impose and to be imposed upon. He is naturally intelligent; and, although naturally inclined to believe others, he can not be fooled twice. The born liar willingly associates with his kind, for he regards lying as natural, and life as an interesting game of mutual cheating or exploiting. The truth-lover considers lying as an abnormality, as a social "Wachstumskrankheit" or developmental disease which tends to disappear; and continues to get irritated, to fight against impostors of all sorts, although he very seldom meets with his own kind. He draws encouragement from the fact that even the mass of major and minor liars praise sincerity and blame falsehood. The born sincere man may fool—much to his own disgust—when people want to be fooled and compel him to do so. Whereas the born liar fools indiscriminately those who want or need to be fooled and those who do not. It is not his merit if his lies bring in money and popularity; his success is merely due to the fact that the mass is credulous, mentally blind, guided by appearances.

(c) Why Not Only the Moral Critic, But Even the Moral Agent Himself Has Difficulty in Applying the Subjective Criterion.

If there were a difference of kind, sharp lines of demarcation between health and disease, sanity and insanity, truth and error, between a legitimate and an illegitimate pursuit, between a moral and an immoral intention, if there were no intricate and masked cooperations and interferences between good and evil impulses; if one and the same symptom, pursuit, impulse, intention did not assume a different significance, a different value according to the complex of other symptoms, pursuits, impulses, intentions with which it happens to be associated; then, we should have no difficulty in our appreciation or diagnosis of bodily and of moral health or disease.

But, as a matter of fact, what we call immoral, illegitimate, is but an exaggeration, or minimizing, or exclusive predominance of an otherwise moral, legitimate impulse. The difference between immoral, selfish, illegitimate, illusory,. . . . and moral, altruistic, legitimate, true, is merely one of degree; moreover, the boundary line between the two is hardly visible, largely conventional, dependent on circumstances and on the point of view; it is shifting with progressing morality, and so little perceptible for the moral eye of the masses that it has rather to be inferred from moral reasonings, and has to be rendered visible by means of magnifying, graphical devices invented by morally superior men in the same way as in physics and in engineering we use magnifying recording apparatus, meters of various sorts, etc. in order to render graphically visible the slight unperceived variations of air pressure, temperature, intensity of electric current, etc.

(d) Difficulties in Applying the Objective Criterion, and Comparative Facility in Applying the Subjective Criterion to the Moral Appreciation of an Individual's Entire Life Activity.

It is a widely-spread mistake to think that the objective criterion of morality, i. e., the criterion which looks at results, is more easily applied than the subjective criterion which goes by intentions. For, although intentions are invisible, psychical phenomena, they are simple in comparison with results and betray their selfish or altruistic nature in the physiognomy and general behavior and attitude of the agent. The human physiognomy betrays health, emotions, character, the intellectual type much better than any ingenious instruments or juridico-psychological tests that may be devised by criminological experts, shrewd judges and subtle psychologists. Only, I am afraid, that this physiognomical test would put out of business most of our judges, rulers, law-givers, protectors, prison guards, wardens, employers, philanthropical promoters, ... and would compel them to change places with those whom they brand as criminals, anarchists, undesirable citizens, unfit or mal-adjusted individuals, professional beggars, ...

No wonder, therefore, that the practice of the old art of physiognomy has fallen into disrepute and that "by the act of parliament 17 George II, c. 5 (1743) all persons pretending to have skill in physiognomy were deemed rogues and vagabonds, and were liable to be publicly whipped, or sent to the house of correction until next session." (From the article on physiognomy in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 1911.)

To appreciate objectively and a posteriori the morality of an action, we must not confine ourselves to the mere overt, publicly known, trivial, direct, immediate, particular, individual, partial, momentary, present, physical, ... results; but we must also search for the hidden, unadvertized, important, vital, indirect, remote, general, social, total, lasting, future, psychical,. . . . results. Hence, we see how much easier, safer, more conducive to truth it is to infer, even a *priori*, from a man's intentions, character, physiognomy, ambitions, profession as to his past and future actions than to judge a man's actions and character by the more striking and known results of his past actions. For the actions of a kind-hearted and justice-loving man will, on the whole, have more socially useful than harmful results, even if he errs sometimes. Whereas the actions of a dishonest, rapacious, bad-natured individual, even if they yield some momentary, sensational socially useful results, are on the whole harmful to mankind. It is a mere sophism to say that tainted money "non olet" and, hence, can be used for philanthropic purposes; or that dishonest labor leaders work more energetically for the cause of the toiling mass than honest leaders; or that private enterprises are more efficient than public enterprises; etc. As a matter of fact, the captain of industry or the financial king does not so easily and irrevocably give away his (?) money without having tied a string to it, without having made sure that it will be used for his own aggrandizement and for the perpetration of his infernal spoliation system; nor would the dishonest labor leader display any energy if it were not to his own benefit, which very seldom coincides with the labor interests, and the efficiency of private enterprises simply means larger profits for a few at the expense of the many; etc.

When I see charitable and other philanthropic institutions administered by individuals who, in their luxurious lives, in their faces, manners, gestures, unguarded remarks and actions, betray their self-seeking intentions, hard-heartedness, contempt for the poor, I do not need any *a posteriori* proofs or so-called legal, tangible evidence in order to reach my conclusion that institutions administered by such men and women most surely do not fulfill their professed mission. Likewise, if I see the police, the Law and other supposedly protective agencies administered by individuals with stupid, criminal faces, mercenary habits, cringing dispositions towards the *haves* and overbearing dispositions towards the *have-nots*, I do not need any legal evidence to infer that no impartiality, justice and protection can be expected of such men. If I see the governmental, political, legislative, educational offices in the hands of individuals whose faces, tastes, ambitions, affiliations, hypocritical habits, dark and mysterious ways, and unguarded behavior betray materialism, vanity, love of fame at any price, cowardice, ignorance, aversion to enlightenment, I may safely infer that all the nation can expect of them is to be sold out to exploiters. I do not need any legal evidence to convince myself of the merciless exploitation and despotic oppression of miners and mill workers by the capitalists and their henchmen (overseers, superintendents, constables, justices of the peace, etc): the hunted look of the workers in mining and mill towns tells the story of their abject misery and inescapable slavery much more eloquently than piles of documents, and the criminal, beastly faces of the capitalist henchmen corroborate the truth of this mutely told tale of woe.

CHAPTER III.

Genuine Moral Intentions. True and Spurious Moral Superiority.

GENUINE aims of activity, genuine intentions, are not necessarily fully conscious, fully known to the agent. What we consider as the aims, motives, intentions of our activity may be merely auto-suggested, or results of self-sophistication; whereas from our true intentions we try to turn away our mind's eye, if they happen to be selfish and hideous. If we can not substitute sham intentions in their place, we try at least to clothe them in the cloak of more presentable and respectable ones, we put them on a mask if we can not look into their faces, in order to deceive ourselves as to their nature. Utility regulates the content of our consciousness: what is not useful to us, we try to relegate to the background of our consciousness; if we can not drop our mean pursuits we drop their names. Thus all immorally acting individuals try to convince themselves, and soon begin to believe, that they act out of moral intentions.

We can not get even at our own thoughts and intentions, before they begin to express or to assert themselves. Still less can we get at others' intentions, because these reveal themselves indirectly and but imperfectly in their actions. To conceal one's selfish thoughts and intentions, one takes refuge in the roundabout way of manifesting and realizing them under the guise of noble words and seemingly unselfish actions. But the deceiver betrays his real intention by leading, when unobserved, his initially, or apparently, unselfish actions back to the channel of self-seeking pursuits; by removing or casting aside the adherents who are naive enough to take him at his word, and who expect him to carry on his actions in the promised, or pretended direction; and in many other ways indicated further on.

The morally superior man, and particularly the moral genius, takes sincerely to heart the needs and troubles of the people and wishes from the depth of his heart to cure the social ills, to bring about universal peace, general happiness, solidarity, democracy; but for this very reason he is kept out of administrative offices and out of all supposedly social work by the pseudo-superior men, the retainers of the predatory classes, to whom the needs and troubles of the people are nothing but opportunities or pretexts for usurping power, for gaining popularity, for grafting upon the public treasury, for establishing themselves as professional politicians, leaders, rulers, reformers, educators, moralists, philanthropists, patriots, etc.

The morally superior man, the genuinely moral and law-abiding individual, does not show off or bragg about his moral superiority, his patriotism, loyalty, charitableness, reverence for the Law, nor does he use laws, rules and regulations—as the hypocrite, pharisee or morally pseudo-superior man does—as a club against his morally weaker fellowmen, but rather as devices for their guidance and protection; just as the physically strong and courageous individual takes pleasure, not in beating or frightening the physically weak—as the bully, the cowardly, pseudo-athletic individual does—but in protecting them against bullies, rowdies,

hooligans; and just as the intellectually superior man takes pleasure in using his greater intellect not for deceiving, exploiting, humiliating, overawing his intellectually less gifted brothers—as the intellectually pseudo-superior man does—, but for enlightening, guiding them, and protecting them against impostors.

Pseudo-superior men ape the serious activities or aims of genuinely superior men and degrade them to mere play or to a mere farce, just as children ape in their games the serious occupations of adults. Only, the pseudo-intellectual adult who plays the scientist, investigator, altruist, ruler, leader, reformer, moralist, dispenser of justice, etc., is an impostor, a grafter, or simply a fool; whereas children playing house, school, store, soldiers, husband and wife, ruler and subjects, etc., do not deceive or harm anybody and only train themselves for the duties and responsibilities of adult life, while gratifying their instinct of dramatization, or need of translating their thoughts into actions.

He who has truly charitable intentions does not wait to help his fellowmen until they have fallen victims to the hard struggle for life; he does not assist only the poor and the sick, but helps his fellowmen if they are in unfavorable circumstances and still vigorous, hopeful, honestly striving, and able to cope with the hard tasks of life; he helps his fellowmen before they succumb. He helps without humiliating, he lifts body and soul alike. The genuine altruist attacks the roots, the causes, and not the effects of human suffering and degradation. He loves all honest men alike, no matter whether they happen to be his social equals, or superiors; no matter whether they belong to the victorious or to the defeated. True charity works towards making itself superfluous.

The genuinely charitable man, the genuine altruist does not start like our modern multi-millionaire by cheating and robbing his own government, his own country, by mercilessly robbing and enslaving his fellowmen, by killing them—whether directly or indirectly, quickly or slowly, does not matter—in their struggle for food and independence; and, then, at the end of his life, after having overburdened his pockets and safes with money, after having become oversatiated with worldly pleasures, after having loaded innumerable crimes upon his conscience, when the fear of an here-after, and the fear of posterity's blame gets hold of his heart, he begins to think more or less sincerely of relieving his surviving but crippled victims by means of so-called charitable institutions, while—on the other hand—he or his successors continue their infernal, inexorable system of cheating and corrupting the government, of bribing the rulers and leaders, of exploiting, impoverishing, enslaving, over-working, incapacitating, crippling, destroying their less favored, less cunning, less gifted struggling and competing fellowmen.

Genuine charitableness can not be both an aim of life and a means of self-advertizing, or of gaining notoriety at the same time. Genuine charity acts out of altruism or love for others; it acts much and talks but little; it talks after, and not before having accomplished a good deed; it is not concerned with the impression made upon onlookers and the public; it is not anxious to have witnesses; the genuine altruist forgets himself while acting for others, he has no side-intentions while being charitable.

If our pseudo-philanthropic rich, who carefully shun needy individuals or families and pitilessly refuse to help them with a few dollars, donate such large amounts to so-called relief, charitable, educational or other institutions, for a

"Cause" or a "movement", it is partly because they are afraid of the slanderous tongues of the disguised grafters at the head of these organizations or movements and largely because these grafters, unlike private individual beneficiaries, give them the craved-for notoriety and advertize widely the donors and the amounts (often exaggerated) of their donations in order to arouse their spirit of competition, their desire to outdo each other, to show off their wealth, to pose as wealthier than they are, and also in order to attract new notoriety-seeking donors.

Pseudo-, sham, or theatrical charitableness, that is, the charity of the rich and of professionals, has only the appearance or form of genuine charitableness, but not its content or spirit; it degrades, humiliates and pauperizes the recipients of its gifts; it acts out of vanity, or out of personal interest; it invests a little in order to reap a hundred-fold returns; it talks much and acts little or not at all; it talks of its intentions before, or without thinking of, putting them into practice; it is concerned with making impression upon others; it is always on the alert to have witnesses and admirers; it has always in view material or spiritual reward, or both; while seemingly preoccupied with others, the pseudo altruist is entirely engrossed with his own personality; he hates proteges who do not understand how to advertise their benefactor.

Pseudo-philanthropy—ever true to the self-seeking, commercial or profit-seeking spirit that prompts it—is only concerned in getting the most credit while giving the least help.

Pseudo-charity gives the people free medicine, hospitals, asylums, libraries, amusements, Christmas dinners, etc., rather than what they really need and clamor for, viz.: food, sanitary housing, justice, fair treatment, fair wages to enable them to pay for their own education, amusement, daily meals, etc.

Pseudo-charity relieves the suffering of a few victims of our predatory system while neglecting the remaining millions of sufferers and while leaving untouched, or even lending its support to, the cause and source of all human misery.

What it spends on philanthropic work or on increased wages, pseudo-charity takes back with compound interest in the form of greater output on the part of the workers, raised prices and reduced advertising expenses, in the form of privileges, power, influence, notoriety, and in other devious ways; it reaps public honor and gratitude for donations which are ultimately paid by the men at the bottom, by the mass of workers.

The genuinely charitable man does not complain of ingratitude on the part of those assisted by him; for he does not expect any gratitude for his kindness and favors from anybody, and much less from people who are constantly harassed by the cares and troubles of the present, who therefore have no time nor patience to indulge in reminiscences, whose present sufferings and privations and worries about the future prevent them from enjoying past temporary relief from pain. To the genuine altruist kindness towards one's fellowmen is a duty and not a commodity to be exchanged, bought and sold, or used for speculation; he accepts and bestows kindness as a matter of course, as the proper relation that ought to obtain between men. Unlike the pseudo-philanthropist, i. e., the man who commercializes, capitalizes, or makes a profession out of charitableness, the genuine philanthropist does not entertain any prejudice against the needy. He would not engage in this difficult work, if he were not convinced that the needy are a morally superior social element, and that if there is anything bad in their

character it is to be ascribed to circumstances, to insecurity, to economic dependence, to the stupidity, or wickedness of the wealthy. True charitableness knows that the only and best way of helping the poor and the ignorant, is by making them rich and enlightened, by making them capable of self-support, self-protection, self-education. Only professional philanthropists, physicians, warriors, judges, social workers, leaders, ethical culturists, can not afford, nor does it occur to them, nor are they recruited from such individuals as care, to perform their real duties, i. e., to work towards making themselves superfluous by working towards the abolition or removal of poverty, disease, conflict, quarrel, ignorance, immorality.

It is not altruism, but pseudo-altruism or egoism disguised in the garb of altruism, that helps or rather pretends to help the unfit to survive. It is not too much altruism that founds or supports hospitals, asylums, charitable institutions; it is rather too little altruism or somnolent, inane, decrepit, dying altruism, which remains impassive and asleep while egoism reigns, robs, maims, tramples under its feet, slaughters, and which wakes up too late when the ravages caused by unchained and unbridled egoism are beyond repair; it is an hypocritically repentant or a fear-born altruism which wakes up at the wrong time to take a contemptuous and degrading pity on a few of the hopelessly crippled, orphaned, bereaved. Genuine, active, sincere altruism is not divorced from business, but exerts a continual control over it and works hand in hand with it.

The pseudo-charitable individual or the parasite in the guise of an altruist relieves a momentary want or renders a little momentary service in order to ensnare hangers-on and in order to tighten his hold on his living tools and to render them dependent on him for ever. He may deceive others and himself as to his real predatory, slave-hunting motives, but he can not help betraying such motives in his complaint against the ingratitude of those who have accepted his acts of kindness but have managed to disentabgle themselves from his snares and to regain their independence. He betrays his real motives in the jealous watch he keeps over every move on the part of his so-called proteges; in his resentment against every attempt at acting or thinking on their own account; in his bitterness against the apostles of emancipation, self-help, self-rule, self-respect (socialists, communists, anarchists). The exploiters' charitableness, participation in public affairs, friendly intercourse with the choice individuals among the workers, etc., which to a superficial observer appear as noble, redeeming features in their character and conduct, disclose themselves to the deeper observation of the connoisseur as mere sham, trickery, mimicry, blinds intended to throw the victims off their guard, to gain their implicit confidence and to maintain them in slavery.

The genuine altruist, that is, the ideal socialist, anarchist, communist, radical reformer, desires to see all men enjoy the same happiness, liberty, opportunities as he wishes for himself; whereas the half-hearted altruists, that is, the benevolent capitalist, employer, exploiter, while willing to make some concessions to his victims and to elevate them to the rank of well cared-for beasts of burden, can not picture himself as happy without riding on the backs of his fellowmen.

True and pure love of man expresses itself, not in the belated assistance given by charitable institutions, Red Cross associations, prohibitionism, etc., to the vic-

tims of our predatory system, but in pacificism, anti-militarism, and particularly in socialism which strives to abolish military and industrial warfare, competition, exploitation, and thus prevent men from robbing, enslaving, ruining or slaughtering each other.

The genuine, consistent pacifist advises his own country to abolish the army and navy or to transform them into productive agencies without waiting for all the other countries to do the same thing; for it stands to reason that in modern times, in which wars are waged under the mask of defense or on the plea of anticipating a planned attack, no nation will have any excuse for attacking an unarmed nation which by its very lack of a military organization proves its peaceful and honest intentions.

Genuine, disinterested, indefatigable sociability or permanent friendship can exist only between congenial or syntonous men; hence wherever uncongenial types of men associate there is some impure motive at the bottom, such as self-interest, the desire for graft, the desire to prey upon or at least to be protected against outsiders, etc.

Genuine public servants (rulers, leaders, enlighteners of the people, educators, benefactors, protectors, defenders) do not feel contempt, aversion or hatred towards, and do not keep aloof from, their constituents, voters, clients, subjects, subordinates, readers, pupils, wards, proteges, congregations; nor do they lay claim to privileges or exorbitant remunerations. Judged by this standard, the vast majority of our so-called public servants and benefactors unmask themselves as contemptible exploiters and parasites.

Genuine, deep, complete, constant, altruistic sexual love makes for, and normally finds gratification in, monogamy; whereas spurious, superficial, incomplete, sensual, inconstant, egoistic sexual love finds gratification in polygamy, open or secret.

Unlike the professional, self-seeking leader or ruler who craves power in order to gratify his bodily appetites or his swollen vanity, and who demoralizes men by his arbitrary, wanton use of authority, the genuine, ideal leader does not crave authority, looks upon it as a necessary evil, tries his best to render it superfluous, assumes it as a sacred duty and not as a source of privileges, and uses it wisely, that is, only when required by the public welfare and only with unruly, lawless, selfish, slavish-tyrannical individuals who do not respond to persuasion and kindness.

Genuine sciences, the true, objective, clear, verifiable theories of honest thinkers derive their nourishment or strength from the soil of commonly accessible observations and experiments; whereas pseudo-sciences, the false, subjective, nebulous, mystical, unverifiable doctrines of parasitic intellectuals derive their nourishment or strength from the weak, obscure, as yet unproved or undeveloped parts of the former, just as the parasitic or pathogenic microbes feed and thrive upon the weak, undeveloped or diseased organs of living organisms.

Genuine goodness and love of goodness goes together with hatred of badness. Only spurious goodness (i. e., the appearance of goodness, naivete, optimism assumed from fear of the wicked and from a desire for immunity from their blows) pretends to love everybody and to find fault with nobody. Only spurious goodness denies the existence of evil or shuts its eyes thereto and refrains from exposing, condemning, let alone attacking the perpetrators thereof;

nay, it joins the latter in decrying, belittling, slandering genuine or militant goodness that tries to exterminate evil (cruelty, rapacity, exploitation, oppression, etc.) from the face of the earth.

Genuine morality, genuine socialism, does not minister to such remote and spiritual needs as the people do not and can not sincerely feel, as long as more immediate, urgent and fundamental or radical needs remain ungratified; nor does genuine morality serve the people against its will, without its co-operation, without initiating it into the methods pursued. Socialism does not believe that children and future generations can be cared for if parents and the present generations are neglected and left a prey to exploiters, swindlers and all sorts of human beasts. Genuine morality, genuine public-spiritedness, does not waste time on pseudo or sham reforms, on superficial and hence perishable improvements. It does not, for instance, get enthusiastic over the separation of Church and State; for as long as the church is allowed to be a business, it becomes much more intolerant, inquisitorial, materialistic, overcrowded, and it tightens much faster its grip on men, when it is deprived of state support as well as state regulation and is thrown upon its own resources; it finds a way of maintaining its flock of human sheep by catching them young and raising them in parochial and Sunday schools to take the place of their dying-out parents. Genuine morality, genuine religiosity, does not try to convert pagans to Christianity when there is so little of it among so-called Christians; nor does it manifest itself in compulsorily teaching savages how to govern themselves when our own people are neither capable nor in a position to do so. Genuine lovers of peace and democracy hate militarism and do not, therefore, become enthusiastic over the dispute about the relative merits of conscription and voluntary service; for militarism is the very antithesis of democracy and international peace, and as long as it is not abolished it will find a way of maintaining its force, if not by impressment or by conscription, then by alluring volunteers or by catching its victims young and raising them under cover of the boy scout and civilian military training movements. Nor do genuine pacifists stop preaching peace in war time, when such preachings are most needed but also weighted with most danger to the peace advocate as they give the jingoists an opportunity to brand him as a traitor, spy, fomentor of sedition.

CHAPTER IV.

Does the End Justify the Means?

TO answer this question we must observe cases in which a moral aim is attained by immoral means without bringing either legal or moral punishment upon the agent. For ethics, like any other science or field of knowledge—metaphysics not excepted—, is based on observation; the moral "ought" is contained in the moral "is". The moral ideals are actual tendencies, exceptional realities. Normative sciences are in reality descriptive also: they describe, namely, tendencies, ideals as fore-shadowed in exceptional actualities.

Now, if we consider such cases and try to find their common characteristic, it seems to me to be this: Immoral means are excused whenever the aim is imperative, or of vital, universal, altruistic importance, and no choice of means or no delay of action is possible. Thus if a starving man steals a loaf of bread to appease his hunger, the aim is of vital importance; if a man out of work steals food for his wife and children, the aim is purely altruistic. If no choice between stealing and begging or earning by work, if no postponment of action or waiting for other means was possible, neither law nor public opinion will blame the thief; we shall rather blame the organization of our own society within which such horrible things as the starvation of honest people, who are willing to work, can still occur. To take another example, nobody will blame the physician who deceives his patient as to the seriousness of his illness in order to give him hope which will strengthen his body through the intermediation of his mind. Likewise, parents must have recourse to lying in order to induce their children to moral and hygienic action; for they can not use reasoning with children in matters which are beyond their grasp, nor can they postpone the inculcation of moral and hygienic habits until the age of reason, or maturity. Homicide is allowed in cases of self-defense; breach of promise is not condemned in case of insuperable obstacles or impossibility to fulfill it, or when the promise has been extorted by compulsion; etc.

"The aim sanctions or justifies the means" is, therefore, a true moral maxim, in spite of its being used by Jesuits, politicians, diplomats, rulers, etc., as a cloak for their selfishness, megalomania, predatoriness or thirst for power, cruelty, vindictiveness. The Jesuits and the other ecclesiastic politicians, who excuse all their crimes and immoral actions under the pretext that it is all done for the greater glory of God (*ad majorem Dei gloriam*), act in the same way as the rulers, the chauvinists, jingoists, diplomats or temporal politicians, who excuse all their injustices and dirty grafting schemes by claiming to act for the good of the country, nation, party, service, etc. These criminal self-seekers who have brought such a true maxim into disrepute, seem to forget that it does not imply the justification of *all* or *any* means. They forget that it is incumbent upon them to prove in the first place that their alleged noble aim (increasing the glory—whatever that may mean—of God, of the country, etc.) is the real aim which they pursue; in the second place, they must clearly define their aim and show what it consists of; in the third place, they must prove that they have no choice in their means, i. e., they must convince us that the attainment of the aim really depends on such immoral means (lying, intriguing, sacrificing human lives, bribing,. . .) as they

use; in the fourth place, they must prove their fitness for the attainment of the alleged aim; and above everything else they must secure the consent and co-operation of God or of the nation in whose interests they claim to act, for only the moral genius who sacrifices himself and nobody else for the benefit of others does not need the latter's consent or approval.

To shrink from a harmless or less consequential immoral act by means of which one can prevent harmful or very immoral consequences, means to have made one's own, not the spirit of morality, but its letter; it means to be morally narrow-minded or short-sighted, it means to be a moral philistine.

Those rigorists who condemn lying or other so-called immoral acts under any and all circumstances, on the ground of Kant's categorical imperative, which enjoins upon men to act so that the principle of their action may be generalized, may become a universally accepted rule, —those rigorists, I say, fail to perceive that on the same ground any act, even truth-telling, could be condemned. For just as human society could not subsist if all its members were liars and known as such, just so could it not subsist if all its members were reckless truth-tellers, i. e., if they always told everybody—no matter whether child or adult, sane or insane, kind or wicked, healthy or sick, accomodated to the blinding light of truth or buried in the dark subsoil of falsehood, a harmless honest man or a dangerous criminal, a reasonable, manly nature or a sentimental, feminine nature, etc.—what they feel, think or know about him, about themselves, about others. Just as small doses of poison are far from being always harmful, and may become, on the contrary, beneficial stimulants to our health; just so a small dose of dishonesty, hypocrisy, lying, if diluted in a large quantity of altruistic intentions, may become socially useful, may serve to preserve, stimulate or increase social solidarity. Thus sabotage—in so far as it confines itself to the reduction in the quantity or quality of commodities, and is practiced by employees or workers when no other methods are available for the improvement of their lot, for the preservation of their health, for keeping their job, or for getting an increase of wages, without any harm to the consumers and merely to the financial detriment of the employers, stockholders or other parasites, whom the Law does not restrain from squeezing out as much work from them as they can and to whom they are therefore under no moral obligation whatsoever—is certainly justified, even though it necessitates (as all modern life does) a certain amount of hypocrisy or sneakingness, and is moreover conducive in the long run to the democratization of industries or abolition of the exploitation system by rendering it unpleasant or unprofitable. Whereas the sabotage and the exploitation of the workers daily practiced by capitalists to the detriment of the public and of the workers from sheer greed, from an insatiable desire for wealth, and for the purpose of increasing their profits, is certainly unjustifiable because it is anti-social.

Lying in itself, unless it is habitual, is neither moral nor immoral. It becomes immoral when it is used as a means of harming, hurting, robbing, enslaveing others. Only the Pharisees or hypocrites make so much fuss about the immorality of lying in order to divert attention from the fundamental moral needs, that is, from altruism and justice, and because it is easier for them to refrain from making formally untrue statements than to refrain from harming others, from concealing the truth, from maintaining others in ignorance, and also because they understand the art of deceiving and misleading others by suggestion, insinuation, omission, etc., without uttering a formally untrue statement.

CHAPTER V.

How to Apply the Subjective Criterion to Habit.

IF morality resides in intention, it will seem contradictory or at least meaningless to speak of moral and immoral habits, i. e., of virtues and vices; for habitual action takes place in certain circumstances under the immediate impulse of an external or internal stimulus, without any intention, without any reflection about its consequences. My answer to this possible objection is as follows: If habits were primary and not acquired, if habits were not the result of repeated conscious and intentional action, we would have no right to stamp habits as moral or immoral, according as they have socially useful or detrimental consequences, we would have to consider them as a-moral or morally indifferent, just as we do not consider pure air, useful plants and animals as moral. Thus the habit of lying, if it results from repeated acts of lying intended to cheat others, to gain undeserved advantages, is certainly an immoral habit, a vice; but if it results from mental weakness, from infantile, feminine or hysterical auto-suggestibility, i. e., inability to distinguish reality from appearance, fact from fancy, perception from imagination, what is true from what we wish to be true, it is certainly an a-moral, although pathological, habit: it is a moral defect; there is nothing morbid or immoral about it, however, if it results from poetic license, from the desire to throw into relief essentials by exaggerating unessentials, mere form or details.

On the whole, we must admit that the habit of lying is decidedly immoral, for this habit can not have been contracted from altruistic motives. Under normal circumstances and with normal men, truth-telling is as a rule beneficial, socially useful, whereas lying becomes only exceptionally so. The habit of fault-finding, in itself, is neither moral nor immoral. If it springs from the cruel or egoistic intention of harming or scaring others and of extorting money or favors from them, it is certainly an immoral, predatory, parasitical habit. Such a habit is to be found in and is a source of pleasure to capitalists and the upholders of capitalism (overseers, detectives, informers, etc.). If it springs from the altruistic intention of preserving general interests against human vampires, it is certainly a highly moral and praiseworthy habit. Such a habit is to be found in and is rather a painful duty to critical moral geniuses who devote themselves to the weeding-out process, i. e., to clearing and preparing the soil for constructive moral geniuses whose mission it is to sow the seeds of new, useful social institutions.

CHAPTER VI.

Absoluteness or Universality of the Moral Criterion.

ASSUMING that men are everywhere and always essentially alike, that their minds are fundamentally the same although their manifestations or rather the form and direction of their manifestations and actions must differ according to circumstances; assuming this fundamental identity of the human psyche, we shall have to admit the possibility of a moral criterion which is valid for all nations and for all ages. We shall understand that, although the acts considered moral in a certain place and at a certain time by people entertaining certain ideas of good and evil, may be looked upon as immoral in another place or at another time by people having different notions of good and evil, the intentions and motives, however, if rightly interpreted, must always and everywhere be considered as moral.

The criterion of morality in general is of absolute and universal validity, but the morality of action is relative, variable; just as the eternity and infinity of the universe does not imply the same attributes in individual things and beings. Thus the killing of aged parents by poor nomadic tribes which had to choose between carrying along their helpless children and carrying their socially useless old parents or leaving the latter behind to fall a prey to beasts or into the hands of cruel enemies, considered as act, is of relative, temporary, local morality; but if we consider the underlying intention to do what is best or the least evil for the tribe, we find the same moral criterion which we follow nowadays. Nay, more, if the savage kills his aged parents, he is at least convinced that he acts rightly. He obeys tradition or custom, and believes that by killing his parents when they are still strong he enables them to pass into the next world fully equipped to enjoy a new life. But what excuse can we find for the heartless treatment of parents by civilized men? Is the modern man more moral because he does not kill his aged parents, but uses them as servants or allows them to shift for themselves, to starve, to be ill-treated in the poorhouse, or to live on charity? If some primitive peoples kill the aged, it is not because they lack moral sentiments or because they are guided by different moral principles than are the civilized. It is because the old people are a greater burden to the primitive communities with a scant food supply than they are to the civilized ones. It is also because the savage, whose belief in life after death is sincerer than ours, attaches less importance to life on earth. It is also because the savage, like the average civilized man, is unimaginative. He can not help being repelled by the sight of increasing bodily and mental decay. His memory which does not go much beyond the recent past makes him forget that the aged were so tender to him when he was a helpless creature, and that they were just as strong, courageous, full of life, hopeful and manly as he is now; and his imagination which does not go much beyond the immediate future does not enable him to realize that he, too, will be some day a decaying, helpless, unsightly creature like the aged whom he treats harshly and does away with. The minority of more kind-hearted and more imaginative savages, who are, however, powerless to abolish such brutal

customs originating from considerations of tribal interests, seek for consolation and relief in the idealization of this custom and in the religious belief that by killing the aged when still vigorous they enable them to arrive in the next world sufficiently strong to enjoy their lives there. The average civilized man who is too far removed from the cannibalic stage when human life did not count for very much, and who for this reason must confine himself to venting his repulsion for the old in harsh treatment, abandonment, or in shifting the domestic drudgery upon them, can not be considered as more moral than the savage who kills his aged parents for whom he has no use and whom he can not thrust upon so-called charitable institutions. Only in very few among civilized men are gratitude, pity and imaginativeness sufficiently developed to help them overcome the natural repulsion for senile decay. And even if we explain this treatment of the aged on the theory of retaliation for parental despotism, it is hard to discover in what respect the modern treatment of aged parents is superior or preferable to the primitive method.

The fact that we of today begin to see the immorality of many acts and customs tolerated in olden times, does not prove in the least that those primitive moral ages had a different criterion from ours; it merely means that what was justifiable or socially useful for primitive times and tribes is no longer so for us, or that they were blinded by passion, ignorance, false beliefs, stupidity, suggestion, etc.; or were under the spell of vestigial customs dating from pre-moral ages; just as the future generations will consider as immoral our toleration of and respect for rich idlers, our allowing social drones to indulge in idleness and amusements while useful and honest toilers sacrifice their minds and bodies to earn the bare necessities of life. It merely proves that the primitive and morally inferior peoples apply the criterion imperfectly, unconsciously, implicitly, whereas morally superior nations tend to make a perfect, conscious, explicit use of it. Who would deny that human action is guided, among other motives, by self-interest, on the ground that men often act to their own disadvantage? Who would deny that savages make use of the same laws and methods of thinking as we civilized men do on the ground that they indulge in so many superstitions? From the fact that savages, children, idiots, and insane people do not act in the same way as civilized, mature, intelligent, and sane people, we do not infer that the implicit laws of thinking of the latter differ from those of the former. We merely say that the former have less experience, less knowledge, less harmony or control, other impulses and guiding feelings than the latter. Just so the difference in the moral acts of the different races, tribes, of different moral ages—I do not speak of pre-moral ages, i. e., of ages when might was frankly identical with right—does not mean that morality, moral criteria or moral laws, are arbitrary, artificial, conventional. Moral judgments are just as much imposed by our mental constitution and by our social-cosmical environment as any other judgments. Since the mental constitution of moral men is fundamentally the same all over the world, and since the environment, owing to human intercommunication, tends to become the same for all races, we understand that the moral criterion tends also to become actually, frankly, explicitly universal from mere potentially, timidly, implicitly universal that it is at present. Immoral vestigial customs do not prove anything against the universal existence of an embryonal or growing morality, just as the existence of superstitions and of false ideas does not prove anything against the universal existence of growing reason. More-

over, reason and morality are as yet the privilege of, or are rather developed in, but a select minority; so that one must not adopt the method of ethnologists and appeal to the great mass in whom reason and active morality are in an embryonal, imperceptible stage, in order to establish the universal existence of intellectual and moral tendencies. It is not necessary to remind ourselves that intellect and moral character are not necessarily correlated, that the little circle of intellectually superior men and the little circle of morally superior men (altruists) are quite distinct, although partly overlapping.

In short, just as a tree is one and enduring while its branches and leaves are many and perishable; just so is the moral end, the moral criterion, universal and immutable while its means and particular manifestations, the particular moral acts, are varied, changeable, perishable, And what is true of the moral end as compared with the means used by it or the particular actions through which it manifests itself, is but a particular case of the general truth that realities (noumena, species, ideas or meanings, contents, truths, elements, etc.) are few but enduring, while their manifestations (phenomena, individuals, words, forms, errors or deviations from truth, compounds, etc.) are numerous, varied, but changeable and destructible. This plain truth has been exaggerated, distorted by mystical philosophy, and construed as meaning that the entire phenomenal world, everything we perceive, is nothing but a tissue of delusions or deceptive appearances behind which there is but one elusive, inscrutable, unknowable Reality.

CHAPTER VII.

Conflict of Motives not a Necessary Constituent of Moral Action. Role of Reflection and of Instinct in Moral Action.

THOSE who, like Kant, do not admit the morality of an act unless it is the result of a conflict between duty and inclination, between altruistic and selfish motives, have in mind more or less dimly the comparison of the moral agent to a fighter and of the moral act to his victory. They forget that such a moral act merely proves that the moral motives are stronger than the non-moral, but the moral motives could just as well exercise indisputable dominion if they were inborn or transmitted by heredity, the fight with the selfish motives having been settled in our ancestors. Is not the throne devolved upon an hereditary prince more firmly established than the throne of an elected monarch? Just so the instinctive morality has firmer roots than the reflective one.

To maintain with Kant that no action can be termed moral unless it springs from a pure feeling of duty, from a feeling of "oughtness", which is not reinforced by inclination, but has rather to battle with disinclination, with selfish impulses: to maintain this is often an unconscious pleading *pro domo*, an unconscious betrayal of the defender's inner struggle between weak, undeveloped, atrophied moral impulses and strong selfish proclivities.

Moreover, altruism and egoism, or rather love of others and love of self, patriotism and cosmopolitism, are not necessarily antagonistic and mutually exclusive, except in extreme, abnormal or pathological cases, in eccentric, anti-social, predatory individuals, Conflicts between one's personal interests and others' interests or rather his duties towards others are very seldom of the irreconcilable sort, especially under normal circumstances.

And even where there is a conflict between selfish and unselfish motives, it is not enough to know which motives have triumphed in order to stamp the agent as an egoist or as an altruist. We must also take into consideration whether the act itself is of a vital or trivial nature. Thus, out of politeness we may take upon ourselves a little trouble and discomfort in order to secure comfort for others for whom we would not be willing to endanger our lives; whereas a mother who would not hesitate for a moment to give her own life to save that of her children, may shift little hardships off her own shoulders upon those of her children if the trouble and discomfort resulting therefrom is of a trivial and transitory nature.

Conflict between a man's duties towards various moral spheres (self, family, friends, party, community, nation, race, mankind) is just as little necessary, beneficial, or irremovable, and just as much a symptom of imperfection, abnormality, immaturity, stupidity, short-sightedness as is conflict or war between nations. Moral duties that do not lend themselves to reconciliation in the light of reason and in the warmth of altruism, are not genuine moral duties and do not deserve any obedience. Such duties are artificial, sophistical, temporary, exceptional, unfit for and not entitled to survival. Duties are binding insofar as

they do not conflict with other duties, i. e., insofar as they can willingly be complied with. In ethical life, as in the physical world, it happens very seldom that forces, I mean duties and inclinations soliciting the agent in various directions, should not admit of being compromised, combined into a resultant. Real family life is based upon love, congeniality (which includes complementary differences), mutual attraction and understanding, and is rather an enrichment or furtherance than a repression of individual development. The nation is not something distinct or apart from the co-existing and succeeding families of which it consists; hence, it can not have any interests that conflict with or are different from the interests of its members. To speak of a conflict between a part and its whole is a contradiction in terms. For what makes men or things form parts of a whole is not mere contiguity in space or coexistence in time, but adherence, mutual affinity, community of interests, co-operation, agreement. If the criminal is in open conflict with human society, it is because human society does not try to incorporate him or to make him a part of itself. If parents and children do not agree, it is insofar as they belong to different classes and generations or to different mental types, it is when the children begin to be prompted by the sexual instinct to part from the old family group in order to establish a new one. A human society that is afflicted by conflicts between its members and social classes, is no real, actual, unitary society, but merely nominal, artificial, apparent, potential; and, hence, has no real right to impose duties upon its members. In the light of this truth, modern nations are seen to be, not social organisms, but mere aggregates or artificial, shifting groupings of mutually exploiting individuals.

In a truly moral act there is no deliberation as to whether the altruistic motives have to prevail or not. There is deliberation as to how to make them work most efficiently. A truly moral act is brought about by moral instincts and habits, by sympathy, pity. Reflection, reason, merely guides, directs, shows the best way of accomplishing the moral ends, of gratifying the moral instincts and acquired needs. Reflection does not decide which motives have to gain the victory. Victory belongs to the stronger, more deeply rooted sentiments. Reason does not create sentiments, does not impel directly to action; it merely guides them, consolidates, corroborates, or weakens, invalidates them, or it merely tries to justify them. The moral sentiments, like sentiments in general, are results of dispositions or inherited emotional seeds developed in the appropriate soil of education. Reason does not decide between selfish and altruistic impulses. In case of conflicting moral interests, reason has to decide which are more vital, more fundamental, higher, of a wider sphere. The genuinely moral individual does not deliberate whether he shall act morally or not. A moral act which is the result of reasoning is moral only in appearance, is a mere imitation of moral acts; in reality it is selfish, or even immoral. In the case when there is no conflict between moral interests of varying importance, the deliberation concerns itself merely with the best ways of realizing or carrying out the moral intentions, of acting unselfishly without, or with the least, detriment to our selfish or personal interests.

The only gain the genuine moral individual can and does expect from his altruistic acts, is self-approval or inner satisfaction; just as in satisfying any other impulse, either bodily or intellectually, the only pleasure we aim at is pleasure resulting directly and immediately from the gratification of the impulse itself. Whoever expects other benefits from his moral action does not possess the moral

impulse he speaks of, does not possess the moral need he claims to gratify; but he has others that he is ashamed of, and which he tries to gratify under the banner of nobler ones, just as people who owe their success, wealth, fame to flattery, cunning, cruel selfishness, etc., try to ascribe everything to talent, perseverance, etc.

What is inborn in the moral individual is not specific rules of moral action, but merely a disposition to grow attached to, to feel active sympathy with, or attraction towards, other men and living beings. And what we call moral impulses, instincts, acts, are merely the necessary consequences of this inborn sympathy as shaped, developed, canalized and guided by subsequent experience, education and acquired knowledge of others' hopes and fears, possessions and wants or aspirations.

Reason, knowledge, science, even so-called practical or normative sciences, merely direct, guide, illumine the course of our actions, but do not prompt us directly and irresistibly thereto. Actions are most efficiently and most quickly started either by inner feelings or by the suggestive influence of actions performed by others in our presence. If the motor, dynamic, persuasive, directive effect of ideas, knowledge, reason, science, principles, precepts, theories has come to be looked upon, not only as indirect and remote, but as mostly fictitious, quasi-nonexistent and wholly inefficient; it is because we have heretofore overlooked the simultaneous strong and direct counter-suggestions that come from the attitude and actions of our mercenary moralists, teachers, leaders, rulers, ministers, journalists, and from our stultified parents. Instead of finding fault with the counter-suggestions coming from the behavior and mode of life of our tone-setting pseudo-superior men, we try to ascribe our inconsistencies between theory and practise to the inherent weakness, vagueness, lifelessness of theories. Instead of accusing of lifelessness and sterility merely the verbal, ambiguous, insincere, inconsistent, nebulous theories of our mercenary and treacherous leaders, we prefer to accuse theories in general, even the conceptual, consistent, sincere, plainly formulated theories and principles of genuinely superior men.

Reason, reflection, the will, conscious mental activity, individual experience, does not and can not change man's instincts, inborn aims of life, subconscious personality; nor does reason attempt to change his nature, because it is impossible, and because it is the characteristic of reason never to persist either along impossible new lines or along too smooth routine lines. Reason merely teaches man how to best express, manifest, develop, expand, harmonize his instincts and how to preserve them under new, adverse, complicated circumstances; it guides only when there arise obstacles, conflicts, doubts, but it has no patience to meddle with human activities when everything runs smoothly and hence can better be entrusted to automatism, instinct, habit. Reason may help man sometimes or temporarily to conceal his nature, to speak or even act against it; but it refuses to do so permanently, thoroughly, undetectedly; it rather impels him to change or escape such abnormal conditions as necessitate histrionic talent, it prefers to adapt circumstances to inborn proclivities rather than adapt the latter to the former. That is why pseudo-superior men, bluffers, are so reticent, distrustful, reserved, self-centered, shirking intimacy in private life, especially with idealists, for fear lest their histrionic talent might leave them in the lurch, for fear lest their self-control or reflection enlisted in the service of their egoism might refuse to work privately, after the public performance. Reason and experience teach

them to avoid intimacy, straight talk, effusiveness, serious argumentation in private life, for fear lest they might betray their true, hypocritical nature; and for the same reason they try to silence, remove, exterminate all those who see through their game and who try to spoil their business by de-hypnotizing others, too. Whereas the reason of the honest man teaches him that it is best for him to divest himself of vanity, ambition, to avoid or, at least, not attach any importance to, publicity, popularity, the favor and company of the socially prominent, for fear lest he might become untrue to his nature and begin to worship form, appearances, lies, conventions, spectacularity to the detriment and neglect of essence, truth, naturalness. His reason also points out to him the necessity of fighting against the perpetrators of hypocrisy and intolerance, against the monopolizers of the means of existence who compel him to deny his convictions, to humble himself, to bow when he is built to stand erect, to crawl on the ground when he is craving to soar in the high realms of thought, to be selfish and insensitive to his fellowmen's sufferings when his heart hungers for the sight of general happiness. Reason is unable to prove to the egoist that it is to his advantage to be unselfish, because it is not. It can only prove to him that it pays not to be openly selfish and not to encourage selfishness in others. Nor can reason prove to the unselfish man who feels himself to be a mere part of the social organism that it is to his advantage to be selfish, to "mind his own business", to take no interest in others; for he can not help suffering and rejoicing with others. It can only convince him that he defeats his own ends or, at best, wastes his time if he advocates brotherhood and rebels against oppression in undue season, prematurely, in the presence of an audience of egoists or human beasts of prey; it can only convince him that it is necessary to fortify his own position before attempting to defend others, that it is a waste of labor to talk socialism to capitalists, etc.

CHAPTER VIII.

Form and Content of Morality or Moral Appearance and Moral Reality. Efficiency of External and of Internal Sanction.

THE more strictly we cling to formalities, ceremonies, the less do we think the thoughts and feel the feelings which gave rise to them, or which were originally expressed through them. Adoration of the letter springs from the lack of power to assimilate, to understand, the underlying spirit; or it springs from a desire to win the confidence and sympathy of our fellowmen with the minimum effort on our part, or from a desire to tyrannize over those who respect the spirit only; at best, it springs from a good will deprived of understanding.

No one is more eager to pose as a staunch supporter of public opinion, and no one is more merciless with those who openly oppose its impossible demands, that is, its perversion and misuse by the evil-minded, than the hypocrite, politician, self-seeker, grafter, who never dreams of really complying with any of its demands, and who secretly holds the very same opinions and indulges in the very same pursuits which he so indignantly condemns in others. Nobody poses as a more zealous guardian of form, externals, customs, moral appearances than he whose thoughts and actions are remotest from the content, spirit, moral realities supposed to go together with the former. Nobody is as eager to support, or to show interest in, the church, professional God-worshipers and propitiators, educational and so-called philanthropic institutions as he who is least able and least willing to apply the teachings of the church in his active life; as he who gives the least thought to intellectual pursuits, and is the least charitable in his private life. Religious thinking and acting, intellectual pre-occupations, real sympathy with his fellowmen, are such a terrible and cumbersome burden to him in his materialistic pursuits that he prefers to give large amounts of money to professional men who are willing to relieve him of it and to give him credit for what he is very far from being. No one preaches more vehemently the repression of heresy, atheism, drinking, gambling, prostitution, etc., as he who secretly indulges therein, and either makes a business out of such denunciation or uses it as a cloak to hide other predatory pursuits of his. Nobody is so noisy about and ostentatious of his patriotism, religion, purism, educational and philanthropic work as the self-seeker and hypocrite who wishes to intimidate all those who doubt his sincerity and the purity of his motives, as the self-seeking citizen of foreign descent, the self-seeking renegade, the ignorant and materialistic exploiter of national or humanitarian ideals. Nobody is so careful, anxious or sensitive about his reputation or honor, and ready to fight for it, as the scoundrel who never dreams of living up to it and who does not scruple to undermine the reputation of others. No one declaims so loudly about patriotism, loyalty to principles, loyalty to the Constitution, as the political gangster whose only loyalty is to himself and to any leader of a political pack or gang who, in exchange therefor, is able and willing to give him looting privileges, sinecures, immunity from deserved punishment, protection against angry complaining victims and against indignant public-spirited critics.

Ethical, religious, artistic, philosophic theories and ideals are for the majority, especially for semi- and pseudo-superior men or pharisees, a full dress to be worn on gala occasions, to be shown, exhibited on the platform, on the stage, in the classroom, in the drawingroom, or in books, but not to be worn and made use of in everyday life; to be put aside or hung up in a wardrobe, to be imprisoned within book covers and locked up in library cases, as soon as they return to their daily tasks for the performance of which dirty, rough clothes, I mean dirty principles of conduct, are sufficient.

Just as it is easier to assimilate, to acquire noble words and manners than noble thoughts, feelings, actions and character; just so is it easier to reject, to taboo, to renounce, to throw opprobrium upon, mean words than to deal so with mean thoughts, feelings and actions. Instead of turning our energy or activity to socially useful or productive channels and giving up our selfish, mean, greedy, predatory pursuits, it is easier to disguise them, to give up their names, to preserve them under more eulogistic designations, and to discharge them into new, as yet untabooed anti-social channels. Instead of giving up materialistic, self-seeking aims, it is easier to give up the usual and direct means leading to their realization, and to adopt unusual, indirect, roundabout, apparently less objectionable means. It is easier not to talk about, to shut our eyes to, our foibles and imperfections than to correct or remove them. It is easier to behave outwardly like, than to be, a superior man. It is easier for the philistine to imitate the style, to appropriate the characteristic or favorite expressions, to worship the native place, home, autograph, pieces of furniture or other material belongings of a great man and to take an interest in his love affairs, domestic troubles, quarrels, eccentricities, common human weaknesses and in the gossip about him than to assimilate and put into practice his ideas, the spirit of his teachings, his valuable contributions to culture. It is easier to perform religious, moral, social formalities than to live according to the religious, moral, social spirit. It is easier to wear a mask than to change one's nature so as not to be in need of lying. It is easier to throw opprobrium upon, to imprison or deport, the moral critic who points out our defects than to follow his advice and admonitions. It is easier to be scrupulously honest in trifles, in trivial matters, than in matters of vital, far-reaching importance to human society. It is easier to be polite than really kind.

It is easier to confess and to regret verbally our sins than to make good for them and to avoid committing them again. It is easier to transfer our contempt for the poor from their poverty to their supposedly inborn bad traits (improvidence, uncleanliness, prodigality, etc.), to their unrefined manners, or to what not, than to give up the contempt for the poor altogether. It is easier to invent ideal, ethnic, aesthetic or eugenic motives for our wholly subjective, ungrounded, or purely predatory hatred of proletarians, foreigners, Jews, Negroes, than to give up hatred and narrow-heartedness altogether. It is easier to transfer our contempt for poverty, for mental inferiority, for racial or class differences, from one set of their manifestations to another set, or even to irrelevant or to entirely unrelated manifestations, than to give up altogether our contempt for poverty, for ignorance, for inferiority.

It is easier to work according to our natural or inherited impulses than according to reason and to others' persuasions and inducements. It is easier to persevere in the same or in the usual direction of activity than to take up a new

direction. It is easier, therefore, for the born insincere, selfish, immoral, parasitical individual to comply with the outer manifestations of politeness, unselfishness, morality than with the spirit thereof. Minute and absurdly complicated rules of etiquette, formalities, ceremonies, mannerisms, conventions, ready made expressions and modes of behavior, which seem an indigestible burden, the line of maximum resistance, to the congenitally sincere, unselfish, moral, productive, thoughtful individual, lend themselves admirably to hiding the lack of thoughts and feelings, and are therefore more welcome, more in the line of least resistance, to the immoral, to the empty-minded and empty-hearted, to the intra-social criminals, than the assimilation of a grain of altruism, of moral feelings, of genuine kindness.

It is easier for a servile individual, deprived of personal merits, to cringe before and to seek the favor of vain plenipotentiaries than to try to acquire abilities, or to attend to his work; whereas for the capable, meritorious, independence-loving individual it is easier to cultivate his abilities, to perform his apportioned duties than to try constantly to gratify the whims and caprices and the thirst for power or undeserved honor of his parasitic social superiors. It is easier to produce many works from imagination or by imitating and plagiarizing than from actual observation and experience or by creating; it is easier, therefore, to become a romantic, symbolistic, impressionistic, form-worshipping artist or writer than a plain, untitled realist. It is easier for a genuine student to dig diligently for more knowledge in order to get his degree than to obtrude himself on the attention of his professors, to hang around his examiners and to seek their favor as the pseudo-students are wont to do. It is easier, quicker and more remunerative work for the mercenary or notoriety-seeking writer to produce trash, to manufacture literary, scientific or philosophic trash or lifeless, feelingless, tasteless rehashes than to patiently wait for moments of inspiration, for moments of exalted feeling and insight, in order to give birth to live works, to works packed with dynamic, energizing ideas, with deep, far-reaching, soul and heart stirring truths. It is easier to invoke divine help, to trust to good luck, and to indulge in self-conceit or self-idealization than to develop one's abilities and to acquire knowledge. It is more flattering to the egoist's self-love to attribute his material success to his merits or abilities and to attribute the failure of others to their inefficiency or lack of ability than to help them and to establish equal opportunities for all. It is easier and cheaper for the parasites to be sometimes charitable and patronizing than to be just, democratic and to give up exploitation. It is easier for the self-seeker to accept the abject condition of the masses as unchangable, as ordained by God, Fate, Nature, or, at best, as due to the economic system than to contribute his share towards its abolition by trying to introduce higher standards not only in the administration of public affairs but also in his own business and other private relations with his fellowmen. It is easier to blame destiny, bad luck, fate for our faults, misdeeds, crimes than to try to improve ourselves. It is easier, safer, more profitable to side with the exploiters against the exploited than vice versa; to fulminate against the evils of drink, prostitution, betting, gambling, etc., than against exploiters, parasites, commercial and financial pirates, political grafters, captains of industry, etc., that is, against the causes or perpetrators of these evils. It is safer and cheaper for the pseudo-patriot to vent his wrath on a few poor devils who sell their votes than to condemn the whole political machinery which is sold out to, controlled or owned by, the plutocrats.

It is easier, cheaper, safer, more convenient for the egoist or for the bluffer to be polite, courteous, than to show real kindness; for sham politeness merely offers words for deeds, the husk or the mere semblance of kindness for its content, and disarms or keeps others at a distance by compelling them to play a similar conventional role with regard to the dispenser of empty courtesies; whereas real politeness or kindness breaks down the artificial barriers between men, encourages and invites intimacy, naturalness, outspokenness, freedom of behavior, claims upon mutual help and consideration. It is easier, cheaper, more profitable to love God, the flag, dead heroes than our living and struggling fellowmen. It is easier for the fame-seeker, vote-hunter, grafter, demagogue, evangelist, to make noise about half-measures, trivial or pseudo-reforms, and to make vague, indefinite promises than to espouse vital, fundamental, radical reforms, such as the abolition of child labor, exploitation, unemployment, unequal opportunities, hereditary privileges, wage slavery, etc. It is easier and more remunerative for our official psychologists, sociologists, and psychiatrists to invent a special psychology of the poor, unemployed, tramps, that is, some pseudo-generalizations in support of the prejudices entertained by exploiters against their victims than to devote a few moments to honest reasoning, which could not fail to show them that just as when people crowd the side-walks those near the edge will be pushed off, no matter what their mental or moral qualities may be, and of those occupying better places the least aggressive will be driven to the edge; just so in our scramble for unearned wealth and in our holy fight for efficiency, that is, for squeezing out the last drop of energy from our toilers and for replacing them by machines, the resourceless and friendless toilers who stand near the edge of the social pit will surely be driven into it, no matter what their inborn and acquired mental traits might be, no matter whether their efficiency and intelligence is above or below the average, and of the moneyed class the best men, who shrink back from using their inherited weapon, called capital, for robbing their fellowmen, will be driven into bankruptcy and poverty.

Conscience and Remorse. Internal and External Sanction.

In children and uneducated persons it is natural, and even a symptom of moral progress, if they begin by imitating the form, the letter of moral action, before they grasp, and fall in love with, its spirit or content. What self-control, self-consciousness, conscience, is for the superior man, public opinion, custom, tradition, is for the average man. The former is controlled from within, the latter from without. Public opinion is a substitute for and a fore-runner of self-control and conscience; just as genuine, warm politeness is a substitute for or a precursor of sympathy and love. The common mortal strives to please, to imitate, to act according to the requirements of public opinion or social consciousness. The superior man strives to work according to the ideal he carries in himself, an ideal which does not contradict public opinion, does not wholly destroy it, but merely completes and supplements it. The common mortal accepts the actual organization of society, the superior man strives to change it, to improve upon it, not to overthrow it; he acts more upon public opinion than he is acted upon.

Conscience, i. e., a man's system of moral instincts, habits, convictions, and sentiments, is a compound resulting from the combination, association, fusion of a-moral and even im-moral feelings, interests, impulses. Now, a compound

must have a beginning; for it can not exist before the combination of its elements. To trace conscience, the law of morality, as far back as the lowest or unicellular animals, nay more, to declare the moral law as a law of nature, means to conceive of conscience as being a simple thing, an element, which conception is contradicted by an impartial introspection; it means to conceive of the whole universe as a single live being, which is contradicted by sober observation; it means to conceive of conscience as a quantitative compound, a mere addition of simple moral elements, whereas in reality all psychical compounds are qualitative or fusions of elements.

Conscience, the moral sense or moral consciousness, is a complex of moral ideas, convictions, feelings, volitions, impulses, habits, aspirations, and is no more infallible, miraculous, mysterious, innate, specifically human than any other mental organ. The conscience of the moral philistine consists mostly in the endeavor to act according to the outer or formal requirements of prevailing laws, customs, public opinion, rules, fashions. . . . . The conscience of a morally superior man consists in the endeavor to act to the best of his knowledge and ability towards increasing human happiness, or, at least, to act so as not to harm anybody.

Remorse (compunction, repentance, etc.), i. e., dissatisfaction with one's self when one acts against one's conscience, is not a feeling *sui generis*. It does not differ in the least from the self-dissatisfaction, self-reproach, self-reproof, regret resulting from the violation of any deep-rooted habits, organic needs, natural impulses. Remorse is not only the still small voice of conscience but also of any other repressed, unheeded urgent need, desire, or habit. Thus the congenitally selfish or commercially minded individual feels just as much remorse when he thinks he has allowed others to take advantage of him, or when he does a favor to others without deriving personal benefit therefrom, as the altruist does when he harms, or when he is slow in helping others. The vindictive individual feels just as much remorse when he has failed to inflict some harm on the offender of his self-love, as the good-natured man feels when he has done so under the impulse of a momentary passion. The born liar, the hypocrite, feels just as much remorse when—contrary to his nature and habits—he has revealed more than he had to of his thoughts, feelings or doings, as the born sincere and truth-loving man feels when he does not reveal everything he has in mind, even if he is not asked to do so.

Moral teachings, moral admonitions, do not change the selfish and immoral activity of men to an unselfish and moral one; but merely create collateral, latent moral tendencies which under favorable concurrent economic and hereditary conditions may become primary actual moral impulses in their progeny.

In the face of so much and such radical disagreement among men as to what is moral or immoral, it is ridiculous to speak with the intuitionists of conscience as an inner, divinely or naturally implanted, infallible voice. Men can not rely with certainty and merely on their untutored self-preservative instincts; how much less can they rely on the uncultivated, unimproved social-preservative instincts? To speak of conscience as infallible and inborn means to forget that all human achievement is a complex result of instinct, imitation, reason, individual experience and peculiarities; it means to forget that human action is too complicated and too variable to be entrusted to the guidance of mere instincts, i. e., of fixed, inherited ways of response.

The efficiency of the expensive, easily deceived and easily evaded external, legal, theological, or heteronomous sanction, of public approval and disapproval, of social reward and punishment, is ridiculously small in comparison with that of internal, moral, autonomous sanction which can neither be evaded nor bribed. Internal sanction or conscience demands that men should act towards others privately and in their absence exactly as they would act publicly and in their presence, and vice versa. Internal sanction requires that we entertain privately such feelings towards, and opinions about, others as we would not be afraid or ashamed of expressing publicly and in their presence. Of course, only independent, free men can comply with the exigencies of the inner or real moral sanction. External sanction appeals to immediate self-interest, i. e., to the fear of punishment or of public disapproval and to the hope for some personal benefit. Internal sanction appeals to love, to altruism and to sincerity, i. e., agreement between conviction and action; in those exceptional cases when there is conflict between the dictates of altruism and those of sincerity, preference is to be given to the altruistic commands. External, legal, coercive, punitive sanction is highly expensive, inefficacious, unable to eradicate vice and immorality; nay, it makes vice more attractive to those indulging therein by driving it into secrecy, and more risky, hence more profitable, to those who trade on it. It puts a premium on deceitfulness, hypocrisy, underhandedness, the cultivation of appearances, etc.

The genuinely moral men, who in their dealings with their fellowmen are guided, not by external sanctions or pressures (laws, public opinion, the fear of punishment or of disapprobation, religious scruples or the fear of God, etc.), but by an inborn spirit of fairness, tolerance, broad-heartedness, love, regard for the welfare of others, are the only type of men out of whom a better and progressive society can be built up. All others are harmful and at best unreliable, for it is easy to escape the watchfulness of external guardians, and still easier to sophisticate one's respect for mere outer commands and sanctions and to disguise, embellish, nay, idealise one's desire to harm and rob others. He, however, who is guided by inner commands, by the desire to see everybody happy, is incapable of harming anybody and is always eager to repair whatever harm he may have caused unintentionally. Although he himself listens to his inner conscience rather than to external authorities and pressures, still he is the last to attribute the evil actions of others to their inner or innate wickedness; he first tries to account therefor by the compulsion of external circumstances, by the lack of opportunity for developing their embryonal better selves. He does not share the belief that human spontaneity, autonomy, free will can act apart from or independently of external influences, let alone in violation of the laws of cosmic and human nature. He advocates, therefore, the improvement of the environment so as to give every man the opportunity of developing whatever good tendencies he may have in himself. Whereas the retainers or hirelings of capitalism, who advocate the necessity of external agencies and compulsion for the extermination of immorality and for the inculcation of morality, are not aware of their inconsistency when they advocate in the same breath the belief in free will, in individual responsibility, in the innate depravity of what they call criminals, in the superiority of inner determination over external pressures. They are not aware of their inconsistency when they admonish others to act from a sense of abstract duty in opposition to the voice of ungratified bodily needs,

and in the same breath uphold the necessity of punishing, imprisoning, torturing the recalcitrant individuals, that is, the necessity of thwarting their bodily needs. These mutually inconsistent doctrines are used, however, with perfect consistency by the capitalists' retainers according as their object is to shift the burden of responsibility for the social evils on to the shoulders of the protesting sufferers or to usurp some more authority over the latter; the belief in human free will (in the sense attached thereto by capitalism) is necessary in order to prevent the victims of the predatory class from blaming the latter for their abject and hopeless condition, and the belief in the necessity of external guidance or rather compulsion (Courts, police, army, church, vice commissions, eugenic bureaus, etc.) is also subservient to the exploiters who are desirous to prevent their victims from rebelling or trying to escape from their clutches.

Ethical Formalism or Idolatry.

In all times and places we see the iconoclasts, that is, the intellectual and moral geniuses, fighting almost hopelessly against the many-headed hydra called idolatry. Hardly does religious idolatry begin to disappear, when legal, patriotic, ethical, political, educational, scientific, philosophic, and other sorts of idolatry come to the foreground, such as the stupid worship of flags, words, symbols, abstractions, numbers, mathematical formulas, scientific apparatus, etc.

We see masses of men displaying the deepest and sincerest affection for flags, patriotic symbols, for rivers, mountains, dead and mostly doubtful heroes, for historical buildings and monuments, for everything that is directly or indirectly associated with their country, but not for their living, co-working fellow-citizens who are the most essential—if not the only—constituents of one's fatherland. We see men worshipping words instead of ideas, manner instead of matter. We see our leading pseudo-superior men intoxicating, hypnotizing, dominating the masses by means of meaningless verbal idols, verbal fads and fashions, just as much as in former times it was done by means of magic rites, fetishes, supposedly divine images. We see our legislators, judges, preachers, rulers, and men in private life idolizing words, gestures, abstractions, ceremonies, formalities, mannerisms, technicalities, and entirely disregarding the supposedly underlying spirit, meanings, thoughts, feelings, motives. We see them taking offense at, and throwing opprobrium upon, mere words while forgetting, or even looking indifferently at, the corresponding base actions; they ask their offenders to take back their words, but not to change their opinions. We see them conscientiously refraining from outwardly violating some rule, formula, meaningless custom, while remorselessly allowing or even causing their fellowmen to suffer or perish, as if men existed for the sake of rules and not vice versa. We hear so much talk about sacred books, traditions, principles, constitutions, about inviolable laws, about sacred institutions, flags, relics, etc.; we hear so much talk about the sacredness of private property (meaning of course, predatory or income-producing property) and the rights of capital; but we very seldom talk about, and never think of respecting the sacredness of human life and of human happiness, the sacredness and rights of labor or honest toil. We see men disputing over, fighting for, mere verbal idols, mere names and outer marks, mere appearances, forms of worship, empty symbols, without any serious concern as to whether or not the things and realities striven after also go with the former.

The philistines, especially women, are worshippers of form, externals, appearances, of idols, of the letter; and the pseudo-superior man is the high priest of this cult; he lives on, and hence tries to maintain them in, their ignorance and stupidity. He gives them windy rhetoric instead of logic; technique instead of art; formal grammar instead of psychological grammar; theology instead of philosophy; literary, scientific and philosophic romance instead of realism; mere symbols instead of realities; empty words instead of knowledge; new, high-sounding, strange names for familiar ideas instead of new ideas; technicalities instead of law; rituals and ceremonies instead of religion; empty, feelingless etiquette instead of real politeness and sociability; dry conventions and at best hygiene, rules of prudence, advices as to how to attain personal well being instead of living, beautifying morality, genuine ethics or admonitions to work towards general uplift and happiness; history or erroneous, incomplete, adulterated, worthless knowledge about the past and stultifying, harmful knowledge about warriors, politicians, rulers or other privilege-hunting parasites instead of useful knowledge about all men of all times and places and about their perennial struggles for better conditions of existence; etc. The only worshiper of the content, of the spirit, of the vitally and permanently important, is the genius. The moral genius enlightens the people at his own risk and peril, at the risk of being stoned by the very masses whom he strives to free from the grip of exploiters, from the clutches of treacherous temporal and spiritual leaders. It sounds so comical to hear the modern Pharisees (priests, preachers, guardians and teachers of religion and of morals) tell their flocks about the quarrels between Jesus and the hypocritical Jewish Pharisees as if this universal, never-ending quarrel between the spirit-or content-worshiping moral genius and the priests of form- or letter-worship were a mere historical incident, a mere local episode of the past; just as their relatives, the modern sophists (academical economists and philosophers), tell their students about the antagonism between Hebraism and Hellenism, about the quarrels between Socrates and the Greek sophists, as if this antagonism between the ethical and the predatory world-conception, between mercenary, insincere, dishonest, verbal thinkers and honest, earnest, altruistic, real thinkers were a mere incident in Greek and Hebrew philosophy, and not an intellectual plague of all times and places. Only the open-eyed, critical, truth-loving individual comes to see that the quarrels which are going on or which went on under our very noses between Tolstoy and the Russian church, between positivists and Hegelians, between anarchists, socialists and the parasitic classes and rulers, between Lombroso's criminological school and the classical criminologists, between Nordau and the perpetrators of conventional lies, between free-thinkers and religious people or other modern mystics, between scientific, logical, clear-headed, altruistic individuals and superstitious, emotional, muddle-headed, egoistic individuals, are not of a different character, or of less importance, than the past quarrels between the conservative official priests and the unofficial religious radicals or the prophets, between Jesus and the Jewish Pharisees, between Athanasius, Chrysostom, Savanarola, Luther, Calvin, Knox, etc., and the established church, between Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and the Greek sophists, between Galileo and the Catholic Church, between Giordano Bruno and the academical philosophers of his time, etc. All these quarrels are but exemplifications of the ineradicable age-long hostility between idealists and the self-seeking materialists, between genuine superior men and the tribe of pseudo-superior

men and of predatory philistines, between the predatory, bellicose gentile and the humanitarian Jew, between the Occidental and the Oriental, between mere man and the precursor of the superman.

Just as the shallow-minded individual shields his mental laziness, or his unwillingness and incapacity of coping with the problems that lay claim on his attention, behind time-honored prejudices, and dismisses these problems with a few, to him meaningless, stereotyped, over-technical, vague, sonorous, inflated phrases; just so does the shallow- and narrow-hearted individual shield his egoism, or unwillingness to participate in the struggles of others, behind such convenient ambiguous excuses as: acting on principle, charity begins at home, social evils can not be solved individually, private charity is apt to encourage beggary, half-measures are worse than *laissez-faire*, murder is murder, theft is theft, the end justifies the means, rules must be enforced without regard to individuals, sanctity of constitutions and principles, exceptions to rules establish a bad precedent, my country right or wrong, the individual must be sacrificed to the common weal, the poor ye shall always have with ye, one man's need is another man's opportunity, etc. Just as the sacredness of temples could in ancient times protect against prosecution the criminals who sought refuge therein; just so do our modern criminals, egoists, exploiters, human vampires screen themselves behind the sacredness of flags and abstract principles, as if there were not more profanation in allowing the temples, noble principles, sacred symbols to shelter, or serve as shields to, criminals, ignoble individuals. To break a rule creates a bad precedent only when the rule has been broken arbitrarily, from trivial motives, without sufficient reason. To say "theft is theft", i. e., "all thefts are alike and hence ought to be punished alike, for he who steals a loaf of bread could just as well have stolen a million dollars", means to throw together the man who regretfully and compelled by dire necessity does a slight harm to one individual with the human beast of prey who voluntarily and remorselessly wrecks the lives of the present and of the future generations. To prefer inaction, *laissez-faire*, to half-measures, palliative reforms, is just as wise as to advise the poorly sheltered people to freeze in the open air until palaces will be erected for them rather than accept any miserable huts as temporary shelters. Of course, the altruist has no objection to and no disrespect for general principles, provided they are not arbitrarily, indiscriminately used or abused. He, too, is impatient with half-measures, especially when they are meant to induce the people to barter away its birthright of freedom for a mess of pottage, that is to say, when these half-measures are meant as substitutes for full and radical measures; but he welcomes them as long as they are understood to be provisional, temporary. Nor has he any confidence in charity, especially in institutionalized charity; but until our social structure is established on a foundation of justice, we can not very well allow the poor to starve; as long as we can not offer them remunerative and happiness-promoting employment, we have no right to refuse them help. If I am unable to help everybody, this is no reason for refusing partial or temporary relief. If I can not do a thing thoroughly, this is no reason for leaving it undone. If everyone would follow the motto "Aut Caesar, aut nihil", the human species would have perished long ago. The altruist does not deny that a noble aim may sometimes necessitate the use of ignoble means; but there is a far cry from this to the assertion that "the end justifies the means", which implies that any professed end justifies any means. "Charity begins at home" is said with the

insinuation that it need not go any further and is merely an excuse for cold-bloodedly and stone-heartedly passing by one's drowning fellowmen. The cult of acting for the sake of principle is merely a mask for disguising one's cruelty towards individuals. The altruist, too, disapproves of morbid, blind, unreasonable sentimentality, but to sneer at and laugh down all sentimentality—without regard to its aim, methods, degree—is an expedient used by frozen-hearted, self-engrossed egoists in order to evade humanitarian duties, and in order to appease or lull to sleep the little bit of conscience that might spoil their humor and disturb their indulgence in selfish enjoyment. Of course, in order to provide for a better future we must sacrifice something of our present enjoyments, and in order to benefit society the individual must accept some sacrifice; but this does not mean that it is advisable to sacrifice everything in the present for the sake of the future, or to sacrifice other individuals rather than ourselves for the sake of mankind. By sacrificing the present we also kill the future in its germ; by sacrificing individuals we also kill society; by sacrificing the present generations we undermine or kill the future generations.

The difference between the philistine's worship of forms, appearances, symbols and the form-worship of the pseudo-superior man, intra-social criminal, disguised parasite, consists in this: The philistine's idolatry is sincere, disinterested, though stupid, because he is too blind, too much dazzled by the externals, to look for the subtle, vivifying spirit imprisoned therein; whereas the disguised human beasts of prey and their allies, the pseudo-superior men, use the cult of form as a blind, as a shield for screening their predatory pursuits; they are very careful to always hide their misdeeds, blackmail, murderous actions under legal or apparently legitimate forms so as to satisfy the sincere or feigned appearance-worship of our bone-headed and corruptible judges, and to have the intellectually blind masses on their side. If even among themselves the intra-social parasites do not openly violate the form of morality, it is not because they have the philistine's formal conscience, but because they are too cowardly, too cautious, too distrustful even of their own partners. But they do throw off their mask and break away from conventionalities when they feel themselves unwatched or when they are *tete-a-tete* with a poor devil whom they do not consider worthy of their histrionic display or whom they know to be immune against bluff. Their extreme anxiety to keep up a good reputation, to use all channels of publicity to advertise themselves, and their exaggerated resentment of the slightest attack upon their reputation, are the best proof of how shaky, frail, ungrounded and based on pure deception it is.

To make a formally or apparently true statement in such a way that it conveys false, misleading information—by its ambiguity, vagueness, deliberate omissions, evasions, implication, insinuation, intonation, emphasis, etc.—does not disturb in the least the parasite's legal or purely formal conscience, as long as the form of his statement looks correct. To overlook in his partners the violation of both form and content of rules, while construing the mere formal or trivial violations of rules into charges against those honest men whom he naturally dislikes, again does not prick in the least his legal conscience, as long as the charge is formally true. To lead into temptation those whom he wants to ruin, to provoke them directly or through *agents provocateurs*, to actually coax them into using such words as he intends to misconstrue and use against them, does not in the least bother the parasite's self-deceptive conscience, as long as it is true that

his marked victims have yielded to his temptations and provocations or have good-naturedly and unsuspectingly accepted the words put by him into their mouth. To give a bad name to an innocent action in order to blackmail the agent thereof does not seem reprehensible to the parasite's legal conscience, as long as there is some remote resemblance between the real and supposed action; to persecute a man for religious, patriotic, political or other alleged unselfish reasons, in order to rob him of his wealth, influence, reputation, or in order to take revenge for some private reason, does not in the least disturb the parasite's feeling of self-satisfaction, as long as it is true that his victim has verbally insulted God, the flag, or the constitution. The *within-the-law* criminal or disguised human beast of prey does not concern himself whether or not his victim has violated a trivial rule, a lower law in order to obey a higher law, or has broken a form in order to set free the vivifying spirit imprisoned therein, or has no patience for lip service, prayers, rituals when there is such urgent need of expressing Religion in deeds. The parasite, the inquisitor, the Pharisee, the Jesuit, the heresy hunter, never stops to ask himself whether God has ever asked anybody to take his part against heretics or unbelievers. That *he* fattens on the blood and toil of the poor does not prick in the least the exploiter's conscience, as long as the poor devils have agreed to being fleeced. If it is pointed out to him that their agreement was practically given under compulsion, he easily satisfies his legal conscience by saying: if *I* had not taken advantage of their being in a hole, somebody else would have done so. In short, the formalist or disguised scoundrel, who pretends to be shocked by, and who so bitterly fulminates against, lying, swearing, the use of vulgar language, the violation of the most trivial rule or custom, the most harmless breach of etiquette, etc., is capable of cold-bloodedly and remorselessly hurting, harassing, worrying, undermining, ruining his fellowmen in a refined, underhand, roundabout, legal or legally unimpeachable way.

It is the moral rigorists, the dogmatists, the legalists, the disciplinarians, the Pharisees, the hypocritical worshippers of externals, the formalists, who have invented the stultifying veneration of technicalities, conventions, abstractions and principles. For the good of the nation, State, Church, service, community, etc., or for the sake of principles, they claim (while being in reality concerned with their selfish or class interests), individuals must be sacrified even if they can not be proved guilty. They prefer to talk about loyalty to loyalty, duty for duty's sake or obedience to duties in the abstract rather than about loyalty to and duties toward our fellowmen. It is easier for them to respect the outward forms of morality and to cram their heads with the minutest formalities, ceremonies, legal technicalities, rules of politeness or rather etiquette than to find room for a drop of altruism and justice in their narrow hearts filled to overflowing with their own dear selves. It is easier for them to make any other concessions to truth-lovers but the concession that principles, governments, laws, social institutions exist for the sake of men, and not men for the sake of the former.

BOOK THREE

Aims and Motives of Human Activity.

O SEARĂ DE DECEMBRIE, ÎN PRADA GÎNDURILOR

I

Intr'o posomorîtă seară singuratec steteam
In tăcuta-mĭ mansardă de triste gînduri chinuit.
In fereastra-mĭ de spaĭmă tremurândă furĭos bătea
Un rece vînt teribil: Era al tómneĭ trist sfîrșit!
Pe aripile-ĭ infernale, de un frig străpungĕtor
Căděau fulgiĭ de zăpadă cerniți de un negru nor,
Ce ascundea a ceruluĭ sublimă privire;
Iar copaciĭ amarnic jeluĭau a podoabeĭ peire.

II

In astă grozavă singurătate, ce'n juru-mĭ domina,
In gîndu-mĭ tristă și umilă vĭața-mĭ apărea:
La ce atăta trudă cu amare suferinți?
La ce atăta muncă îndur și am îndurat?
De ce am vĕrsat lacrămĭ atât de ferbinți
Pentru un traĭŭ de ale Miserieĭ furtunĭ sbucĭumat?
— Cât timp, îmĭ rĕspunde cugetul rece, nepăsător,
In a tale vine va curge al vĭețeĭ isvor,
Strĕbate-veĭ, vrênd nevrênd, a vĭețeĭ cale,
Fie ea șeasă, fie a plângerilor vale.

III

Se împrăștie ca fumul ale omenireĭ generațĭunĭ
Cu ale lor frumuseți, gloriĭ, năzuinți și pretențĭunĭ.
In nóptea Uĭtăriĭ se pĭerde tot maĭ mult
După o scurtă licărire orĭ ce perĭod cult.
La ce dar cu ambițiĭ și a glorieĭ năzuinți,
Vane aspirațĭunĭ, înmulțesc a mele suferinți?
De ce sĕ nu-mĭ trec vĭața ca un muritor de rînd?
De ce creerul cu ale lumeĭ mistere mi-l frămînt?
Când în ĕst infinit Univers specia omenească
De o minimă valóre trebue sĕ se socotĭască.
— Cât timp, îmĭ rĕspunde cugetul rece, nepăsător,
A stomaculuĭ prosaică voce în tine n'o predomina
Și-n al tĕŭ sânge atome de fer veĭ avea,
Al glorieĭ magnet te va atrage — greu sau ușor — ;
Iar creerul pornit va fi spre adĕvĕr, sciință
De sine, nicĭ decum prin a ta voință.

—O. L. S.

Zürich, December 1897.

WISSENSDURST VERSUS LIEBE

I

Einst kam ein Jüngling voll Mut und Glut
In die Regionen der Weisen:
Die Erde war ihm zu wenig gut,
Mit zu beschränkten Gesichtskreisen.
Von dort aus wollte er schauen weit,
Bis in die fernsten Welten hinein;
Er wollt' umfassen die endlos' Zeit
Und ihr ewiges Werden und Sein.

II

Verflossen war schon manches Jahr,
Seitdem er dort verweilte,
Das Weltenrätsel war noch nicht klar,
So sehr er auch wohl eilte.
Wie öd' und frostig auf dieser Höh'
Es aussieht, wurde er jetzt gewahr,
Als ihm im Leibe erstarrt vor Weh
Das Herz, und Seel' gefroren war.

III

Lieber Jüngling, sagten zu ihm dann
Die würdigen und ehrvollen Weisen,
Einen guten Rat nimm von uns an,
Wenn die Weisheit du immer willst preisen.

IV

In die Gedankensphäre, zu uns hieher,
Bist du, o Jüngling, zu frühe gekommen.
Dem jungen Sterblichen hier fällt es so schwer,
Denn hier giebt's keine herzerwärmende Sonnen.
Zur kleinen Erd', o Jüngling, kehr schnell zurück,
Dein Herz mit Liebe viel fülle es aus;
Denn nur darin besteht das menschliche Glück,
Auf Erden bauen ein gemütliches Haus.
Und von der Liebes-Sonne erwärmt, belebt,
Kannst du auch manchmal uns leichter besuchen,
Aber nur nicht zu oft—drin sei bestrebt—
Sonst werden deine Lieben mit Recht dir fluchen:
Für die Liebe—bedenke—hast du nur deine kurze Lebenszeit,
Für die Denkersphäre bleibt dir noch immer eine Ewigkeit!

—O. L. S.

Berlin, June 23, 1900.

CHAPTER I.

Aims, Ideals or Motives of Human Activity.

(a) Duty and Inclination, or Moral Habit and Sentiment.

WHAT is felt as a duty by those whose morality is heteronomous, customary, imposed from without, becomes a desire, a wish, an inclination in those whose morality is autonomous, self-imposed, organic or hereditary.

To act out of mere duty in the sphere of morals is analogous to, or a special case of, acting out of habit and imitation in any sphere of human activity. Duty stands midway between pure imitation and inner inclination.

It is easier to act out of duty than out of inclination or feeling, for the demands of duty or formal morality usually do not overtask one's powers, whereas feeling does. Moreover, the demands of duty, having their roots mostly in consciousness, in reason, compulsory imitation, can be easily shirked, circumvented; whereas those of feeling, being hereditarily transmitted and hence more deeply rooted in the subsoil of consciousness, can not so easily be silenced by sophistry or evaded.

Duties and customs or folkways are socially approved and imposed habitual actions. If they coincide with our natural inclinations, desires and individual habits, we do not feel them as a burden. Usually the word *duty* is used in a restricted sense, i. e., it is reserved for actions which are imposed by law, tradition, public opinion, but which are not dictated by—nay, which are often antagonistic to—our natural inclinations. *Right* is the correlative of *duty*, as *father* is the correlative of *son;* nay, right and duty are the two sides, the outside and the inside, of one and the same moral entity. What is a right for the recipient and for the whole community, is a duty for the agent. One and the same person may, however, be both recipient and agent at the same time, i. e., he may have duties towards himsef on account of the remote social consequences flowing therefrom. The duties prescribed by ethics can not all of them be enforced by law, custom or public opinion; for ethics takes the practise and ideals of the minority of morally superior men as a standard of human action, whereas law must conform itself to the practise of the great mass of morally average men. Nor does ethics endorse all the legal rights and duties, because law is still in the grip of the inexorable, selfish, pitiless class rule and class interests. The more perfect a human society is, the less does it prescribe such duties as are beyond the power of its members. The duties imposed by the community upon its members are justified and complied with on the basis of a more or less explicit understanding that the community, too, must fulfill certain duties toward them. Thus, a society like ours, which does not give employment to people willing to work, has, properly speaking, no real right to expect such starving unemployed men to respect others' property, especially such property as has not been acquired by one's own labor or in exchange for real services.

(b) Moral Aims and Ideals

Ideals are a product, an effect, of past experience, and a factor, a cause, of future activity and experience. Ideal means reality, actuality, minus obstacles

and asperities. In their passive phase, ideals mean flight or escape from a cruel, arduous reality. In their active state, ideals mean reaction against reality, revolt against things as they are, the endeavor to free reality from its roughness, prosaic, bitter asperities and stumbling blocks.

A complex of mental states in which the centrifugal forces predominate over the centripetal, constitutes an emotion. If the centrifugal forces are impeded in their tendency to be discharged in muscular activity, we have desires or ideals according to the degree of complexity; desires are more impulsive but less complex than ideals. Ideals do not differ in kind from realities. They are not mere products of our imagination. They are mostly the opposites, or, at least, mitigated forms of painful real experiences. Ideals, or rather the objects of ideals, are things or conditions of mind and body that we or our ancestors have once enjoyed and been deprived of later; or that we actually enjoy but only nominally, exceptionally, partially, uncertainly; or that we see in other men or in other animals; and that we desire to regain, to persevere in, to transform into something real, permanent, certain, widely spread, because they further the preservation and growth of our minds and bodies. Thus the baby for whom its mother is a source of so many joys and comforts, desires, when left alone for a while, to be steadily in touch with her. —The infant which can only occasionally stand on its feet and make a step or two, aspires to possess some day the dexterity and muscular strength of bigger children, to move around freely and to handle things as they do. —The grown-up who has to enter the struggle for bread and to bow before his employers, aspires to regain the liberty, independence, leisure, economic security or the freedom from cares and from responsibilities of his childhood. —The moral genius who has enjoyed parental and fraternal love, when he steps out into the arena of the struggle for existence and meets there with hatred, envy, hypocrisy, cut-throat competition, cruelty, aspires to establish in human society the same relations of love, sincerity, solidarity, co-operation, mutual confidence which he has tasted as a child in the bosom of his family. —The intellectual individual who, in the midst of his childhood's reveries and owing to chance impressions received during leisurely strolls, has caught occasional glimpses of higher, eternal truths, aspires to regain that sweet leisure and free mobility that enabled him to catch glimpses of such new, wide and beautiful vistas. —The impulsive egoist who has tasted the sweetness of having his wishes carried out by his parents and docile comrades, aspires, when grown-up, to bend by any means, fair or foul, by financial or authoritative means, the wills of others, and to transform everybody into a slave, into a mere docile instrument. He becomes an extra-social or intra-social pirate, a conqueror, financier, captain of industry, political boss. —To the active child, who is continually doing something, who is continually taking things apart, putting them together or arranging them in new combinations, nature reveals sometimes some of her secrets and rich potentialities; thus arises in him an increasing desire of prying into nature's hidden workshops and of pressing them into men's service. —All these ideals (muscular strength, dexterity, material comfort, truth, beauty, love, mastery over nature, persuasive mastery over men) are or can be made socially useful. All other ideals (ideals of asceticism, quietism, mysticism, self-sacrifice, auto-intoxication, stupefaction, ...) which are not rooted in the soil of childhood's experiences, are morbid, abnormal, regressive and socially harmful, if they become generalized.

The aim is general, indefinite; it consists of images, appearances, ideals, desires. The result is particular, definite; it consists of sensations, realities. Or it is more correct to say that the aim is the tendency to transform the general, the indefinite, mere images and ideals into the particular, definite, into sensations, realities. Or still more correct: the aim is the tendency to substitute the latter for the former.

The will, aims, ideals, desires, images, are primary circuits; the motor responses form secondary circuits. If the will is too strong, or too weak, or constant (uninterrupted), or vague (dispersed), then there is no induction of motor response. If the will is of medium intensity and intermittent, the motor response induced by it is proportional to it, and, owing to intelligence, that wonderful mental commutator and equalizer, it is transformed from an alternate into a relatively continuous current. And vice versa: movements induce feelings. When we imitate all or the most fundamental facial and bodily movements of persons dominated by a certain emotion, passion, propensity, these movements tend to induce in us the same state of consciousness. Desires may arise, flare up or awaken for a short while when the power or opportunity for motor response dies away (waning manhood, incipient general paralysis, setting-in of senility, falling sick, loss of liberty), and vice versa: our cravings die away while being gratified, while we act towards their fulfillment. Will and motor response do not necessarily consist of quite identical processes, just as the primary circuit need not be an electric current, but may be a magnet.

The animal instinct of self-preservation develops further in man, particularly in the more energetic, dynamic or ambitious type, into the instinct of self-expansion or desire to acquire, appropriate, subjugate, utilize as much of Nature and Society as possible, and to leave one's impress upon everything and everybody. And this instinct of self-preservation and self-expansion branches off into the instinct to preserve and expand one's bodily or material self; into the instinct to preserve, expand and immortalize one's spiritual self, to preserve, expand, propagate one's ideas, beliefs, opinions, convictions, ideals or higher aims; and into the instinct to preserve, expand, uplift human society (the latter instinct being developed only in a minority of moral geniuses). Only the higher or genuine intellectuals, who silently and without the flourish of trumpets pursue knowledge, beauty, moral ideals, attain real immortality through their original works or leave a permanent impress upon the human minds and hearts; whereas the lower or pseudo-intellectuals, whose aim is to acquire material possessions, wealth, power, notoriety, merely furnish material for the sensation of the hour but leave no permanent impress or change for the better. Some superior men cultivate Truth; others cultivate Beauty; and others espouse the cause of Love and Social Happiness. All these ideals are essentially moral. Truth and Beauty, or Science and Art, and also Religion in its metaphysical or knowledge-seeking aspect, contribute indirectly or passively towards moral progress and social happiness; for they kill greed, idleness, vanity and social prejudices, which are the main psychical sources of immorality. Only the moral geniuses, who aim at social happiness, are directly and actively engaged in the realization of moral ideals. They sacrifice their personal happiness in order to pave the way for social happiness; for virtue does not bring happiness to those who practise it, as long as it is not a common attribute of all men.

The instinct of self-preservation is not in the least contradicted, set at naught or transcended by those who commit suicide when they see all their ambitions thwarted; nor by martyrs who willingly lay down their lives in defense of their religion, country, family, ideals; nor by the dare-devils who risk their lives in dangerous performances in order to gain prestige, fame, the respect, admiration and affection of their fellowmen. For we must keep in mind that the self which man is bent upon preserving and perpetuating—however illusory this endeavor may be at bottom—is not confined to his mortal physical frame but comprises also his moral self (or his fellowmen's opinion about him and sentiments toward him) and the larger collective selves of which he is but an insignificant part, as well as what he has been taught—rightly or wrongly—to regard as his better, immortal self or soul, to which, in case of conflict between the two, he is naturally willing to sacrifice the less important or physical self.

The stimulating or energizing influence of aims, motives, ideals, of ambition, a dominant passion, conversion, love affair, new fad, etc., is due, not to the tapping of hitherto unused hidden stores of energy, or to a so-called *second wind*, as the mystery-mongers would have us believe, but simply to the mobilization for, or focusing and concentration upon, a single pursuit of most of our mental energy (attention, thought, imagination, interest), hitherto scattered and wasted in all possible directions; and in the case of excitement, anger, shock, mania the so-called second wind is simply an overdraft upon our vital energy, which is made possible by the absence, deficiency, or paralysis of the inhibitory, restraining or self-controlling power, and which must therefore be paid for by an ensuing period of torpor, chronic exhaustion, invalidism or physiological bankruptcy.

(c) Hierarchy of Human Aims or Ideals

"Human nature", that is, the deep-rooted aims and motives of human action, can best be studied in children, in the poorer classes, in the uneducated, in the so-called backward races, for these are comparatively sincere, communicative, less addicted to self-idealization, less cautious and less distrustful, less "complex" (that is to say, less deceitful or self-controlling) than adults, the rich, educated, the so-called civilized races, in whom reason, intellect, theory is in advance of, and hence at variance with, instinct, feeling, practice.

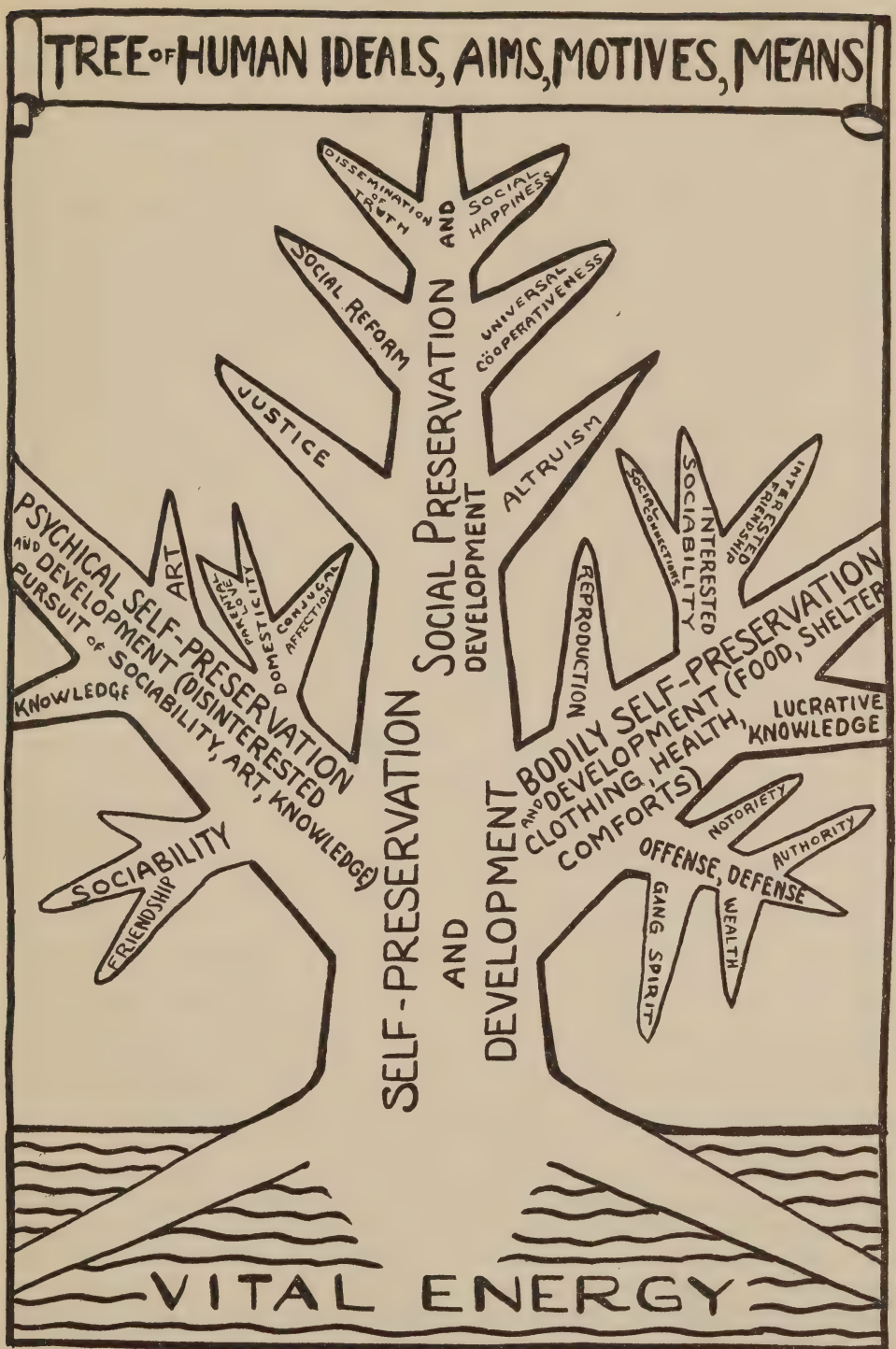
Aims and ideals are for human activity in general what duty, motive and inclination are for particular, definite actions. Aims or objectives, principles, ideas and ideals, like the commanders-in-chief of armies, do not busy themselves with detailed, particular, occasional, less significant, concrete situations calling for temporary action. The response in such cases is left over to duty, habit, inclination, sentiment, instinct.

The primary ends of human life and the indispensable means for their attainment are mostly imposed by heredity (self-preservation and reproduction or self-perpetuation, sociability, pursuit of truth, beauty, liberty, morality, etc.) and partly imposed by education, environment. The more primary an aim is, the more strongly and univocally is it transmitted hereditarily and the less do we deliberate whether or not it deserves being pursued. We do not speculate about or question the worth or legitimacy of our primary or inborn aims as long as they are not too difficult or impossible of attainment. Only when the obstacles become insurmountable and the attainment of our dearest aims becomes too uncertain, do we become pessimistic, that is, we begin to question the worth of

human life and endeavor, we begin to ask whether life is worth living and whether it would not be more heroic to put an end to this hopeless, never-ending, monotonous struggle.

Primary aims (the will to live and perpetuate oneself, the pursuit of health and happiness) and primary affections (self-love, sociability) are in the volitional-affective field the analogues of the so-called axioms in the domain of knowledge. Primary aims and primary affections are just as irreducible, and need just as little justification, as the cognitive axioms. What is a cognitive or scientific axiom or a self-evident truth to the sane ("the whole is greater than a part", "there is an external world", etc.) may be questioned by the insane. Likewise, the volitional axioms ("every man is an end-in-himself, i. e., he has a right to live for his own sake", and "everybody is entitled to pursue happiness and the conditions thereof, such as liberty, leisure, spare capital, health, . . .") are ignored or even questioned by the egotist and by the morally insane. The volitional axiom "knowledge should be pursued for its own sake" is doubted by the philistines. Love for children is an affective axiom for every normal woman; love for one's fellowmen is an affective or ethical axiom, an indisputable and ineradicable affection, of the moral genius. Our philosophically critical-destructive age has attacked not only the legitimacy or validity of scientific axioms, but has also gone as far as to raise the question as to whether life is worth living, i. e., the most fundamental volitional axiom (the will to live) is challenged to legitimate itself. We repeat in philosophy the same puerilities as the ancients showed in geography and astronomy: they could not conceive of the earth as floating in space without a specific support, which in its turn could not be conceived of without another support, and so on *ad infinitum;* just so our modern axiomo-clasts or axiom-killers can not conceive of any self-supporting, fundamental truths, pursuits, affections.

The higher aims of life are superimposed or rest upon the lower, economic, more fundamental or vital aims of life, just as the higher stories of a building rest upon the lower ones. The most fundamental aim of life is "Just to live", i. e., to maintain the balance between the anabolic, upbuilding, tissue-forming processes and the catabolic, down-pulling, tissue-destroying processes. The pursuit of food is more fundamental than the pursuit of shelter, clothing; this pursuit, in its turn, is lower than the pursuit of company, social distinction; the pursuit of artistic enjoyment is more fundamental than the pursuit of literary knowledge, scientific knowledge and philosophical world-conceptions; self-preservative pursuits support and grow into self-perpetuating, reproductive, altruistic, race-preservative pursuits. To say with the ethical materialists that the higher pursuits—the pursuit of knowledge and general happiness, for instance—are subservient to, or a mere means for the attainment of, lower pursuits—food, bodily comfort, gratification of vanity and personal happiness, for instance—is just as absurd as to say that the higher stories of a building are built merely for the sake of the lower ones, and that the entire building is erected for the sake of the foundation. Or, to change the figure, since the growth of human aims is rather similar to the growth of a plant, the materialistic conception would compare with the absurd assertion that the leaves, flowers, and fruits of the trees are mere means for maintaining and increasing the activity of the roots. (See figure.)


TREE OF HUMAN IDEALS, AIMS, MOTIVES, MEANS
DISSEMINATION OF TRUTH
AND
SOCIAL HAPPINESS
SOCIAL REFORM
UNIVERSAL COÖPERATIVENESS
JUSTICE
ALTRUISM
SOCIAL PRESERVATION
DEVELOPMENT
SOCIAL CORRECTIONS
INTERESTED SOCIABILITY
INTERESTED FRIENDSHIP
REPRODUCTION
PSYCHICAL SELF-PRESERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT
PURSUIT OF SOCIABILITY, ART, KNOWLEDGE
ART
PARENTAL LOVE
DOMESTICITY
CONJUGAL AFFECTION
KNOWLEDGE
BODILY SELF-PRESERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT (FOOD, SHELTER CLOTHING, HEALTH, COMFORTS)
LUCRATIVE KNOWLEDGE
NOTORIETY
AUTHORITY
OFFENSE, DEFENSE
WEALTH
GANG SPIRIT
SOCIABILITY
FRIENDSHIP
SELF-PRESERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT
VITAL ENERGY

CHAPTER II.

Determinism and Free Will.

OF course, the mercenary moralists, who are in the employ of the predatory classes, do not like to dwell on the hierarchy of human needs, aspirations and motives of action; they divert the public attention from the fact that all the higher attainments of men, including morality (altruism, justice, solidarity), can not thrive except upon the solid ground of economic security (food, shelter, raiment, leisure, opportunity), just as no tree can be expected to bear fruit when it is cut off from the nourishing and supporting soil; they are bitterly opposed to the doctrine of determinism, particularly to the doctrine of economic determinism or of socialism, which lays emphasis upon the external and internal influences upon human action, and teaches that men—with the exception of a minority of geniuses—are the creatures of circumstance and of heredity and hence can not be permanently improved by punishment, intimidation, hypnotization, stultification, preaching, revivalism, but merely by being given opportunity for self-realization, for harmonious development; they fanatically uphold the absurd doctrine of free will, indeterminism, unmotived action, power of acting independently of motives or at least of external influences, because such a nebulous doctrine can easily be used as a cover for their harshness and intolerance towards the victims of our predatory system, as a cover for vindictive punishment, for deliberate ignoring of other men's motives or needs, as a pretext for throwing the entire burden of responsibility upon these victims, compelling them to work against their own will and interests. Only the fair-minded, truth- and men-loving thinker, who is anxious to understand his fellowmen, to treat them as ends-in-themselves and to take them such as they are, can not help being a determinist. He does not declaim like the indeterminist in favor of the dignity of an hypothetical human free will, but he raises his voice in behalf of the sanctity of human life and happiness. Without the belief in a free will, declaims the muddle-headed mercenary moralist, there can be no responsibility—whatever that may mean—and no morality (he means: no stupid respect for privileges or ill-gotten gain and no blind submission to disguised exploitation). Without economic freedom or equal opportunities, replies with just indignation the unbribable moral genius, there can be no genuine, self-imposed morality, no human happiness, no progress. Only the determinist is really tolerant, for he knows that no man can help being what he is, that no harmony can ever be reached between uncongenial minds and that hence the best thing for such different types of men is to part company or to avoid close contact. Only the consistent determinist knows that a man's conception of life and the world is largely determined by the manner in which he makes a living, which in turn depends on his mental type, that hence all arguing between men belonging to different social classes and mental types is worse than useless; he knows, for instance, that the only way of converting parasitical or predatory individuals to a productive life is, not by preaching on the beauty or on the usefulness thereof, but by changing our economic system so as to make it impossible for them to find defenseless victims. Only the economic determinist acknowledges frankly that if so many obviously unimportant, uninteresting, useless, harmful, false activities, institutions,

investigations, doctrines, practices are obstinately adhered to and noisily defended even by intelligent and congenitally honest men, it is simply because their daily bread and butter depends thereon, it is because under the present system it is not so easy to change one's bread-winning occupation, it is because there is more profit in deceptive or parasitical professions than in those based on truth and usefulness, it is because success in parasitical professions depends exclusively on popularity which in its turn depends on noise-making and on some real or apparent difference from or disagreement with one's competitors. The economic determinist alone acknowledges frankly that no amount of arguing will ever bring agreement between men competing for the same unsharable things even though they belong to the same mental type, nor will it open their eyes to the inconsistency of their contentions, as long as our social organization does not guarantee the daily bread to all its members. The economic determinist alone has the frankness and boldness to disclose the fact that the real or main bone of contention lying at the bottom of all endless and time-wasting disputes or disagreements between the various philosophic, pedagogic, economic, literary, political, medical, religious schools, movements, parties, sects, is not the yearning for truth, knowledge or social service, but the same lust for money, prestige, power, and privileges that underlies wars, active racial and class prejudices. If factional quarrels are the most bitter; if persons differing but little in their beliefs are so prone to exaggerate or over-estimate these differences and are at greater enmity than persons who differ radically in their beliefs, it is simply because economic competition is fiercest among persons belonging to the same or overlapping social, religious or professional sets. The materialistic or economic interpretation of history, as I understand it, means simply this, that under the age-long competitive, individualistic system the supposedly ideal movements, socialism not excepted, (religious movements, monasticism, the reformation, ethical culture, Salvation Army, missions, Mormonism, philanthropy, evangelism, Red Cross, Zionism, organizing work, political rivalries, etc.) are doomed to become—if they have not been so at the very beginning—mere disguises or camouflages for the atavistic, ineradicable predatory pursuits of the "makers of history" or parasitic gangs masquerading as leaders or organizers, mere pretexts for preying upon the sincerely enthusiastic masses of adherents, or upon the non-adherents, or upon both simultaneously. Only the economic determinist has the honesty and courage to proclaim that what we mistake for different social classes in reality consists largely of men belonging to one and the same type but acting differently owing to their having been driven or born into different circumstances; that it is absurd and cruel irony to demand with the indeterminist respect for property from propertyless men, to expect equal honesty from men having unequal chances in life; that it is nonsense to expect moral improvement and real reforms from the upper classes whose very privileged position is based upon the exploitation and enslavement of the masses; it is absurd to fight prostitution and beggary and to expect sexual morality, when so few have a chance to earn a comfortable living, to marry and decently support a family; it is absurd to exhort men to love each other when they must compete for the daily bread and as long as they are not independent of each other; it is absurd to expect men to persist in honest work when honest work not only means privation, poverty, slavery, insecurity, constant worry, degradation, but is also hard to get at that; it is unpardonable stupidity to expect enlightenment or truth

from professional writers, preachers, educators, lecturers, who depend for a living on the truth-hating parasitical classes; it is capitalistic insolence and political hypocrisy to pretend to exterminate immorality by mere preaching or passing of laws, as long as there is more profit in immoral professions than in honest work; it is just as foolish to expect morally and intellectually developed individuals to survive and grow up in the midst of sordid commercialism and cut-throat competition, as it would be foolish to expect trees planted in a dried-up, impoverished soil to bear fruit; it is absurd to expect men to be truthful or sincere with each other under the present chaotic, competitive, individualistic regime, where they can not make a living except by fighting against each other for a share of the world's goods, where the moneyed recipient of services has the advantage over the needy renderer of services, where men with unequal weapons and unequal strength or advantages are arrayed against each other, where in sheer self-defense one must hide his poverty, disadvantages, troubles, worries, opinions in order to escape the clutches of the maliciously faultfinding, treacherous, evil-minded, hostile, exploiting or predatory individuals who are steadily on the alert to make capital thereof.

What the determinist calls free-will or, more correctly, a self-controlling, consistent, democratical, harmonious mind (for there is no such separate entity or faculty as *Will*, just as there is no entity called *Thought* and no entity called *Sentiment*), is not something phantomatic, fictitious, deceptive like the free will and other idols of the capitalistic hirelings. It is something very real, an attainable ideal, viz., the slowly evolved power of judging and acting in conformity with our entire past experience and on the advice of all our motives. It is the power of thinking before acting, of suspending jugdment, of resisting the promptings of momentary, isolated, anarchical impulses or of fleeting impressions; the power—acquired in consequence of the bad experience with over-hasty action—of postponing action, wherever immediate action is not an imperious necessity, until all our motives and all our possible resources have been summoned before the bar of our conscience. Free action is, therefore, a resultant of all our instincts, expressive of our personality, and never regretted. What the moral genius calls free will or self-control includes free thought or open-mindedness and open-heartedness and has nothing to do with the self-control of hypocrites, of the upper class, of premeditating and within-the-law criminals, who postpone action and hide their real feelings not because they do not know yet what they intend to do or because they wish to first scrutinize their motives before yielding to them, but merely because they want to watch for an opportunity when they will be able to carry out their incorrigible, irresistible evil intentions under cover and without being detected. The state of psychical democracy is still an ideal which has been approached by a few moral geniuses, who have risen superior to our anarchical social organization, and which will not be approached by the majority until a state of social democracy is established, wherein all the obstacles that stand in the way of an harmonious soul development (such as: insecurity, economic dependence, intolerance, the reign of parasites, military discipline or the suppression of free thought, cut-throat competition, etc.) will be cleared away. In short, just as life or mind in general is a product of chance or environment which has risen above the latter and become its master, just so within the human mind determinism or causal thinking gives rise to free-will, to the power of suspending judgment and action, which power in turn frees itself from the causal chains,

transcends mere determinism and rises to the dignity of a very master or moulder of human life and destiny.

The capitalistic hireling's insolent declamation about the freedom of our will or our imaginary power to act against our needs, when we clamor for economic freedom or for the opportunity of satisfying our needs, is in keeping with his babbling about our share in other such fictitious boons which we could not sell, pawn or exchange for a single meal ticket: It is in keeping with his babbling about national prosperity, when we complain of individual poverty; about an hereafter, with its paradise and eternal life, when we complain of the hell we live in here on earth; about the salvation and immortality of our souls, when we are hardly able to keep our bodies alive; about the protection given us by the army, navy, government against outside danger, alien exploiters, invasions, when we stand badly in need of protection against the domestic despots, parasites or intra-social criminals who mercilessly and continually rob, oppress, maim, overwork and kill us; etc.

Since doctrines, theories, beliefs are to the exploiters mere means of justifying, shielding, concealing or furthering their robberies and crimes, it is natural that they should seize upon extreme, diametrically opposed beliefs; for extremes meet and hence may often be used for the same purpose. Thus, the modern, civilized exploiters—who use the doctrine of free will, viz., the doctrine that every man is himself the master of his fate, in order to hypnotize their victims into believing that they have to blame themselves for their abject misery—also revert occasionally to the older, clumsier, equally absurd oriental doctrine of fatalism or of predestination which claims that men are mere toys, puppets, or tools in the hands of fate, and denies the existence or efficacity of all individual initiative, or effort, as well as of opportunity, nurture, environment, shifting the entire blame and responsibility upon an inescapable, invisible, external Power (Fate, God, the Laws of Nature). Of these two extreme doctrines, the oriental fatalism, which embraces both exploiters and exploited, is the more humane, for it does not add contempt and reproach to cruelty, it does not heap insult upon injury, as libertarianism does; nor does it arouse in the victims the false hope of escaping from the social pit through the mere exertion of their will; it is also less safe for exploiters, as it could easily be turned by shrewd victims into a justification for rebellion; they could maintain, namely, that the same Fate, which has fore-ordained their abject condition, has also fore-ordained that they in their turn should dethrone their masters. The occidental exploiter, however, in conformity with his double moral code, does not scruple to resort to both fatalism or predestination or some variant or disguise thereof and libertarianism, according as the one or the other suits best his purposes. Fatalism comes in handy when he is anxious to shake off the responsibility for his own rapacity, wickedness, impulsiveness, predatory pursuits and for the tangible harm he inflicts upon others. It is a relief to regard himself as the tool of Fate, Providence, Predestination; as acting merely in conformity with the laws of Nature, under the pressure of the inexorable struggle for life, of external circumstances, of the competitive system, etc. When, however, he desires to wreak vengeance on others, to punish violators of legal or class morality, to justify or explain away the robberies and iniquities perpetrated by him upon others, it suits his purposes to endow them with free will, with a voluntarily perverse nature, with a freely chosen inferior social status. If exploiters could detect and punish the—to them dis-

pleasing—unexpressed thoughts and feelings of their victims, as they suppress and penalize actions and speech, it would not take long before our mercenary scholars would discover that men have not only a free will but also the freedom or power to think and feel as they choose or please, and hence may be held responsible for their unexpressed thoughts and feelings.

Like all fallacies and superstitions, the belief in a free will is not the invention of the parasites and charlatans who trade and thrive thereon, but arises naturally in the minds of men and persists therein as long as the thinking power is undeveloped. What gives men the illusion of being free agents, of having a free, undetermined, indifferent will, is their inability to discriminate between the awareness of their *will* and the awareness of their *power*. What they are really conscious of is, not the freedom of their will, that is, the ability to choose any line of conduct under given circumstances and in a given state of their mind, the feeling that under the same conditions they could have chosen just as well the opposite course of action, but the power of doing just as well and just as easily the opposite of what they actually do, the feeling that the same muscular apparatus and the same amount of muscular energy can be used for both good and evil, the possession of a dual moral nature, the feeling that they have both cruel, predatory, deceitful and kind, co-operative, effusive impulses, and hence are just as capable of criminal as of virtuous action, according as the former or the latter self gains the upper hand. What the philistine boastingly calls his free will, is in reality a defective, undeveloped, vacillating, uncertain, suggestible, unreliable will or moral character. The philistine feels, namely, that—given his irritable, disharmonious, dual moral nature, hazy or uncertain knowledge of self and others, inability to see things with his own eyes—it would have required but one external suggestion or influence to the contrary to make him change his mind and adopt the opposite course of action; it would have required but the slightest provocation to arouse his brutal self and to make him deal unmercifully with the same men for whom he could sacrifice himself in the absence of provocation and if influenced in their favor by the moulders of public opinion.

Another source which feeds men's belief in the freedom of their will is their self-conceit, their self-complacent exaggeration of their abilities and prospects, their proneness to mistake wishes for realities, their inability and unwillingness to discriminate between their desire for and the actual possibility of attaining to immortality, perfection, unrestrained freedom, unlimited power, the ability to do as they please, inexhaustible opportunities.

PSYCHOLOGICAL VERSION OF ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

As men of genius are as yet in a minority, and as they are the only men who rise above their personal economic or material interests, that is, above the ethics of their narrow immediate social environment, and who disinterestedly take it upon themselves to steer the human boat upon life's stormy seas towards genuinely ideal goals, that is, towards the goal of a truth-loving, solidary, universally co-operative or altruistic human society; whereas daily observation teaches that the masses of moral philistines are entirely creatures or products of their immediate social environment, prompted to action by imitation (that is, the need of following a leader or the majority), by material interests and by ideals which can be easily unmasked as being but disguised, outwardly embellished selfish pursuits and atavistic predatory aims masquerading as class interests, party loyalty,

raison d 'Etat, esprit de corps, or professional solidarity, religious zeal, proselytism, patriotism, etc.; it follows that the interminable and idle disputes between the upholders of economic determinism or the materialistic interpretation of history and the upholders of the idealistic interpretation can be easily settled with a balance in favor of the former doctrine by stripping it of the nebulous Marxian verbiage and stating it in plainer language, that is, in psychological phraseology or in terms of human aims and motives. In this garb the grandiloquent and nebulous Marxian doctrine of economic determinism unmasks itself as having nothing new about it, like all obvious truths, for it means simply this: that in public, as in private, affairs very few men act from pure, disinterested, unselfish, ideal, spiritual motives. In actions that go down in history, as in everyday life, the vast majority give first consideration to, or are guided mainly by, personal and economic interests, wearing sometimes the guise of ideal or spiritual aims; and the latter, if given any consideration at all, occupy a subordinate, insignificant rank. All the conflicts, disputes, quarrels, wars between classes, parties, nations, religious sects, schools, etc., do not spring from differences in principles, from genuine ideals, that is, from altruism, the love of truth, the love of God, etc., (although such motives may temporarily sway the masses, while the excitement aroused by the leaders or the hypnotic spell cast by them lasts, and do permanently sway a handful of enthusiasts, and are always alleged as a pretext), but from idealized egoism and rapacity, from the idealized spirit of exclusiveness and love of fight inherited from our predatory, nomadic, non-gregarious ancestors. The moral genius, who realizes that this pent-up atavistic fighting spirit exists in the majority of men and is deep-rooted, does not undertake therefore the fruitless task of trying to eradicate it, but tries to direct it into the higher channels of discusion, of debating about principles, of competition for honors, of competition for the honor of having excelled in productive, constructive, generally useful work. On the other hand, it is one-sidedness to maintain with economic determinists that men's political, religious, ethical, philosophical creeds are determined by the prevailing mode of production, or method of earning a living. These creeds are rather always in advance of men's daily practice, because and in so far as they embody the teachings of moral geniuses, and also because many men would be willing to put into practice the ideals preached to them, but are unable to take the initiative in their private business, as they would only be driven to the wall by their unscrupulous colleagues. This stumbling block, which has thwarted so far the realization of the dreams of moral geniuses, even when they have been temporarily put into practice by small sects or religious orders, has been recognized at last by socialism, which advocates therefore that the moralizing work should be started collectively, in the governmental or public institutions, not only by electing good men to public offices, but primarily by building up our public enterprises upon a humanitarian, constructive, productive, generally useful basis, with a view to its gradual absorption of all private enterprises. While it is true that men's ways of making a living color, or reflect themselves in, their ethics, it is not the whole truth. The economic determinists overlook, namely, the mutual reaction between ethics and economics or between theory and practice. The other greater half of the truth is that men's ethics determine, if not their choice of occupation, at least the use they make thereof, for an honest man, when driven into a parasitical profession, will try to divert it into a useful channel or at least to reduce its harm-

fulness; whereas a dishonest individual perverts everything into a tool of oppression and exploitation. It is likewise a partial truth to say with economic determinists that each social class has its own ethical code. The truth is that the difference between the ethics of producers and the ethics of parasites, semi-parasites, traders, retainers, etc., lies not so much in theory as in practice. The parasite, too, preaches—and justifies his privileges by—the ethics of usefulness, service and fellowship or altruism, nay, he makes the most noise about his fictitious usefulness and love of men in order to intimidate the critics and in order to drown the faint doubting voice of his atrophied conscience; but only the producers live up to their ethics, either from choice or under the pressure of circumstances; whereas the capitalist follows in practice the moral code of the jungle. And, conversely, what W. J. Ghent, in his able work "Mass and Class", calls the trader's ethics of contract and property rights, is also endorsed by the producers, who know very well that human society could not be held together without a certain amount of respect for agreements, promises, honestly acquired property. Only, the honest, class-conscious producers object to compulsory agreements and to the parasite's trading upon men's troubles, hard luck, inability to comply with the letter of the contract, etc.

CHAPTER III.

Egoistic and Altruistic Motives.

(a) EGOISTIC OR SELF-SEEKING MOTIVES

THE egoist or self-seeker is not totally inaccessible or blind to other people's concerns and cares; he is not totally inaccessible to altruistic feelings, although he is absolutely incapable of altruistic acts or of altruistic response to his altruistic feelings. The egoist's field of consciousness is so much and so steadily preoccupied with his own wants, needs, and so little with his possessions, that altruistic feelings can hardly find place in the marginal parts of his consciousness and are, therefore, too weak to provoke genuine altruistic responses; at best, the response is merely verbal, or remains egoistic under the mask of altruism.

The contents of the egoist's consciousness alternate between preoccupation with his own wants and dissatisfaction with his possessions. In the former state of mind, the thought of others' cares irritates him because it tends to divert his attention from its natural direction. Only the human sufferings as represented on the stage or in novels do not irritate him, for they do not call for responses in the form of acts or financial sacrifices. In the latter state of mind, i. e., when he is dissatisfied with his possessions, the picture of others' wants or ungratified cravings pleases him, for it shows him by way of contrast the value of his own possessions. To relieve others of their misery would, therefore, mean to destroy the only source of his own happiness which is mainly negative or by contrast. For, as a matter of fact, the egoist is an unhappy man in the midst of his abundance, in the midst of his life given to pleasure and enjoyment. He who hunts after pleasure shows thereby how badly in need of it he is, how little the inner source or organ of pleasure is given him by nature.

Persons who are permanently and incorrigibly, i. e., instinctively and hereditarily, selfish, never become conscious of it; those who are intermittently so, but can not change their natural narrow-heartedness, are only dimly conscious of it; they try to deceive themselves as to their real nature by overestimating their efforts to do good, by objectifying their wishes to be unselfish, by suggesting to themselves that their selfish actions are not prompted by inner impulses but rather by external circumstances, etc.; they try hard to throw the responsibility upon their victims. For no man is so perverse as to be fully conscious of his perversity and still persist in it; no man is so perverse as to be convinced of his own perversity and of his victim's innocence. Only he who ceases to be selfish, or is on the way of becoming ideal, unselfish, broad-hearted, can be fully conscious of his past and present character; he can afford to confess his sins, for he begins to expiate them, to compensate for their consequences. We are conscious of what we begin or cease to be, of what we were and what we tend or merely desire to be, but not of what we are. Misled by our *amour propre*, we mistake pure tendencies for actualities and ascribe them to our personality, we mistake the tendency and the effort to be altruistic for being actually altruistic. The fact that men are more clearly conscious of their novel or exceptional states of mind than of their constant or habitual mental states or processes, explains why

altruists, truth-lovers, honest individuals are prone to exaggerate their occasional lapses into selfishness, falsehood, dishonesty and to accuse themselves of moral deterioration or inferiority; whereas the egoists, bluffers, dishonest individuals are prone to overestimate their occasional, unintentional frankness and altruistic actions or mere attempts at such actions and to boast of their goodness of heart and outspokenness.

The moral level of a man betrays itself in the manner in which he approaches, shuns, observes, remembers, judges, treats, addresses his fellowmen. Thus the egoist, the self-seeker, who is guided by mere self-interest, avoids the company of the unlucky, and manifests a very keen ability in discovering, remembering, courting people through whom he can further his own interests or ends. He never talks as he thinks, or in order to communicate ideas to others, but in order to win sympathy, confidence, material benefits, and in order to display his knowledge and superiority. Whereas the disinterestedly moral individual distributes his attentions and friendly regards according to merit, and not according to social rank or prospective personal benefit. The self-seeker's appreciation of men is entirely subjective, personal, *pragmatic*, biassed by self-interest and personal benefits derived from them, hence unreliable. Only the morally superior man can appreciate objectively and impartially the motives and social significance of his fellowmen. His likes and dislikes are dictated and guided by general human interests. If the predatory or hateful individual is so intolerant of, and so keen at detecting, the slightest dissimilarities or peculiarities in his fellowmen, it is because he is looking for an excuse for his hatred and predatory designs; whereas the altruistic, honest producer rather sees and looks for the fundamental similarities of men, while trying to understand and justify their striking dissimilarities.

(*a'*) Double Vocabulary of Egoists.

The egoist ascribes his success entirely to his good or superior qualities, and the failure of others to their bad qualities. His own laziness the capitalist, exploiter, ruler, leader, social superior designates by the imposing name of *meditation, brain work, sojourn in the realms of thought and poetry;* whereas the laziness of others, the legitimate hatred of drudgery, monotony, routine and hopeless struggle, as well as the musing of intellectual proletarians, he stigmatizes as *aversion to labor, weak will, abulia*, etc. —His own moral crookedness, self-seeking and predatory nature, despotic disposition, cruel disregard of other people's interests and aspirations, his trampling upon the happiness and rights of others, his gambling, his schemes to get something for nothing, the egoist dignifies with the name of *business ability, spirit of initiative or of enterprise, individualistic spirit, self-assertion, strong will, love of discipline, self-realization, speculation, investment*, etc.; whereas the moral straight- mindedness and conscientiousness of workers or producers he sneers at as *lack of energy, lack of initiative, fear of responsibility*, etc. —Hypocrisy, falsehood, insincerity in himself, the egoist invests with a halo of romance by calling it *courtesy, diplomacy, tact*, etc.; the sincerity, directness of honest producers he calls *naivete, stupidity, childishness, lack of self-control, obtrusiveness, impertinence, slander*, etc., according to the requirements of his selfish interests. —If the parasitical, idle, power-craving, domineering individuals, under the mask of helping the poor, interfere with or pry into the latter's private affairs, boss them around, amuse themselves at their expense and infringe upon their liberty, they call it *charitableness, social work, co-opera-*

tion, sociological study; but if the poor offer some unwelcome advice and co-operative scheme, or ask some unpleasant question, it is called *interference, insolence, ungratefulness,* etc., and they are made to suffer for it. —If a poor man has the courage to protest against social iniquities and to stand up for his own and his fellow-sufferers' rights, he is accused of *quarrelsomeness, contentiousness, kicking, heckling, rebelliousness,* etc.; but their own pugnacity, cruelty, despotism, anarchical acts, predacity, the powers-that-be designate as *enforcement of the Law, the upholding of order, discipline, moral purity,* etc. —It the exploiters conspire in the dark to rob the people, they call it a *gentlemen's agreement;* but if some altruists agitate openly against exploitation, oppression, secret diplomacy, war, conscription, etc., they are accused of *conspiracy, treason.* —Their own callousness or stone-hearted indifference to human misery and cruel withholding of help to the needy the egoists call *optimism, cool-headedness, reflectiveness, scientific philanthropy,* etc.; whereas the revolt and altruistic response aroused in noble souls at the sight of heart-rending human suffering and degradation they laugh down and discourage by sneeringly branding them as *sentimentalistic outbursts, hysterical sentimentalism, soft-headedness, sentimentalistic overhastiness.* —Their own short-sightedness, narrow-heartedness, narrow-mindedness, materialism, soullessness the egoists call *practicality, tact, worldly wisdom, prudence, circumspection;* the far-sighted, broad-hearted and broad-minded individual they brand as a *dreamer,* as a *speculative, utopian, visionary, tactless, unpractical enthusiast.* —Manifestations of discontent in himself the egoist greets as *divine discontent,* as a beneficial factor and as the main *incentive to human progress;* whereas the manifestations of discontent in his victims he persecutes as dangerous, pestilential *leavens of rebelion and social upheaval,* and the attempts of moral geniuses to enlighten the people as to the cause of and remedy for their discontent he ruthlessly thwarts and brands as the *contamination* of the masses with morbid ideas, subversive, pernicious doctrines. —His own insincere, hypocritical acting and unquenchable hidden, delayed vindictiveness the egoist calls *power of self-control, subordination of emotion to reason;* whereas the unconcealed but transitory and harmless outburst of anger shown by the honest, plain man when he is badly wronged, when his rights and liberty are too much encroached upon, he stigmatizes as a fit of *bad temper,* as *lack of self-control,* as *criminal irritability.* —If he himself encroaches upon the liberty of the masses, it is mere *expansion of his individuality,* and if he combines with his fellow-parasites in order to exploit the masses more efficiently, he calls it *co-operation;* if he devises devilish schemes of squeezing out the last drop of strength from his employees, he calls it *industrial efficiency, scientific management;* but if the workers join trade-unions which promise to look out for their interests, he cries out against it as a lawless attempt upon individualism, upon human freedom, upon holy and beneficent competition. —He who looks upon his daily meals as a very solemn family affair and whose only serious concern in life is his bodily comfort has the insolence of decrying the world-regenerating socialist movement as a mere prosaic, materialistic concern with food or with the stomach. —If a poor devil takes the liberty of expressing an unfavorable opinion about his superiors, and if a moral genius condemns the rich and holds them responsible for the existing misery, they are immediately accused of *slander, criminal libel, trouble-making, inciting to riot, grouchiness, faultfinding, pessimistic view of men,* etc.; but if the egoists, exploiters, superiors, continually indulge in slandering, belittling, condemning, finding fault

with the poor, the workers, their inferiors, it is mere *critical-mindedness.* —Self-assertion, self-respect, seriousness of purpose, spirit of independence in the poor is called *insubordination, anarchism, stubborness, arrogance, impertinence;* whereas the oppression, despotism, tyrannizing or domineering spirit of the social superior is called *love of order,* or *self-assertion,* and his intellectual prostitution to still higher-placed parasites is called *adaptability, courtesy, worldly wisdom.* —The justified dissatisfaction of the poor with the iniquities of our social organization is stigmatized as *inadaptability, grumbling* or *pessimism;* the rich designate as *optimism* their selfish and intentional ignoring of the social miseries and of the bitter struggle for mere bread, and their greedy discontentedness they ascribe to heavenward striving, higher ambition, the need of *sich ausleben* or *self-realization.* —Their own deliberate, offensive misdeeds, misrule, mismanagement, lawlessness, crimes, violence, the upper classes call mistakes, unfortunate events, etc.; while the provoked, justified, defensive strikes, rebellions, violent or desperate deeds of subjects, workers, they are prone to ascribe to criminality, lawlessness, anarchy. —Their own prosaic, sordid, brutal, inhuman, cold, unsympathetic, commercialistic, distrustful, wolfish, bullying attitude towards and treatment of their fellowmen the predatory philistine designates as *impersonal, reserved, dignified, disciplinary, realistic, "Realpolitik",* etc.; whereas the proletarian philistine's and superior man's human, sympathetic, warm, frank, effusive, fraternal behavior towards others is ridiculed by the predatory philistines as *personal, obtrusive, inquisitive, undignified, romantic, hysteric, mushy, sentimental,* etc. —And so on. There is no end to the double terminology invented by egoists, exploiters, employers, ..., which consists of euphemisms and melioratives to designate bad qualities in themselves and of pejoratives, condemnatory, derogatory, contemptuous terms to designate the same and even the opposite good qualities in others, in the poor, in employees, in the disinherited.

Unlike the altruist who never idealizes what he does for others, and who, on the contrary, acknowledges regretfully how far removed he is from the loftiness and purity of the ideal pursued—the egoist, the exploiter, the parasite disguises, embellishes, idealizes his bullying and predatory practices, habits and actions as well as his deceitfulness under the designation of *ruling* or *executive ability;* he surrounds with a halo of idealism the things which he claims to have done for others, thus betraying that he carries no ideal whatsoever within his heart, for it is in the nature of an ideal to be approachable but not attainable, to be distant and projected into the future but not into the present, let alone into the past. The egoist's idealism is a pseudo idealism, that is, a mere mask that hides the frightful hideousness of his real motives and crimes; it is, therefore, assisted or supplemented by a simultaneous denigration, vilification, of what others do for him, which is intended to exempt him from reciprocation; it goes together with ignoring, belittling, holding in contempt the virtues and merits of his victims; it goes together with denigration and persecution of the disinterested, risky, thankless, unremunerative work of agitators, anarchists, socialists, altruists, who endeavor to open the eyes of the exploited to the real situation. His alluring of immigrants to a life of slavery and drudgery (a foretaste of which is given them by the brutal officials at Ellis Island) the American exploiter clothes in the ideal garb of an invitation extended to the victims of European despotism to come and share with him the liberty and opportunities of his land; he hires

teachers, historians, demagogues to sing the praise of the land of sweet liberty. While really looking upon the immigrants, upon what he contemptuously calls the low foreigners or *greenhorns*, as his natural or legitimate prey, just as the *Fathers* used to look upon the Indians and as the rich of all lands look upon the poor and as the city dweller looks upon the farmer; the American capitalist publicly professes to civilize, educate, assimilate, Americanize them. Under the mask of educating savages and immigrants for self-government, the modern American exploiter continues the slave-holding policy of his ancestors. —The egotist idealizes everything that he happens to say, do, or be connected with; his idealization of his ancestors, family, country, profession, college, etc. is nothing but a covert way of self-aggrandizement; he idealizes popular men, if he thinks that part of their glory is reflected back upon his own personality; he is willing to idealize his subordinates insofar and so long as they rest contented with revolving around him as mere satellites; he idealizes the good that he is compelled to do, the gifts that are wrested from him, he makes virtues out of necessities and vices, his impotence of harming or robbing he praises as benevolence; he has the insolence to sing the praise, to extol the virtues or abilities of his race, nation, class, profession, college, club, organization, etc., although he knows and everybody knows that collectivities are not homogeneous and can not possibly be better than the individual members composing them, just as a river can not rise higher than its source. —While clamoring for public recognition, appreciation, credit, gratitude, immortal fame for their grudgingly given donations, for their pseudo-charitable institutions, for their sham improvements in the lot of the exploited, for reforms which have been prepared at great risks by others and which they can no longer fight against, in short, for improvements of which they themselves and their hirelings are the sole beneficiaries: the self-seekers do not show the least genuine appreciation of the workers' heroism, self-sacrifice, strength of will and character, who for the sake of wife and children resign themselves to the lot of a hopeless, lifelong drudgery and slavery, instead of deserting their families and returning to the independent, carefree life of single men; they do not give any credit to the heroism and strength of character shown by working-men's wives who, far from being sex parasites or dressy puppets, co-operate with their husbands in the support of their children, and try to make both ends meet on a meager, unsteady income; no recognition is shown by exploiters for the poor woman who prefers the drudgery of washing or scrubbing to the smooth life of prostitution; no credit has ever been given to the idealism inherent in the masses which alone are spurred to action by appeals to their disinterested, patriotic, religious, humanitarian sentiments, and whose very hatreds or prejudices are disinterested, while their masters never undertake anything unless there is some economic or financial gain therein. —While really waging war, at the people's expense and risk, of course, in order to prey upon other nations or in order to open markets for the commodities which their producers at home yearn to consume but can not afford to buy, the rulers and exploiters claim that they are prompted by the love of democracy and liberty, by national ideals, national honor or pride, the desire to spread civilization, the desire to see their country grow and spread its protecting wings over benighted countries threatened to be torn by inner dissensions, or—if this trick does not work—they bring forward the desire to defend or vindicate the honor of the insulted flag, creed, fellow-citizens, etc. (It would sound too mediaeval to battle for the Lord, for the Church). —While

really aiming at wresting the offices, privileges, graft, illicit sources of income from the hands of the party in power, the politicians of the antagonistic parties claim that their exposure of the existing political corruption is the dawn of a new moral era, the manifestation of a moral wave sweeping all over the country, and springs merely from the desire to purify the political arena, to save the people from its unfaithful servants who suck its vitality, fatten on the fruits of its toil and squander the public funds without giving any real services in return. —While raiding upon or making laws against beer saloons, gambling houses, and brothels in order to extort bribes, or in order to punish the owners of these places who failed to pay the bribes secretly agreed upon, the police and detective corps spread the rumor that they have nothing else in view but the protection of the honest citizens and of their homes against the contaminating, pestilential, pernicious, morally and physically destructive influences of vice. —The insistence of the courts upon tangible, direct, univocal, uncontradictable evidence and the long delay resulting therefrom, while claimed to be dictated by the desire for justice or impartiality, is in reality a pretext for shielding the intra-social criminals whose crimes are always committed secretly, under cover, indirectly, by proxy. —While justifying their fat salaries, privileges, lucrative positions on the basis of simulated superior ability or, if unable to simulate originality, on the basis of their role as intermediators between geniuses and the masses, the disguised parasites or pseudo-superior men brand as parasites and ridicule these very same poor geniuses if, in their despair of combining under the capitalistic regime the pursuit of higher aims with the earning of the daily bread, it occurs to them to raise the claim to a bare subsistence, to a pension, reward, or state support in exchange for their real and generally useful services. —Their own rapacity and slave-hunting pursuits due to a feeling of their helplessness or inability to earn a living by producing and rendering real, honest services, the egoists and their Nietzchean spokesmen idealize under the name of *will to power* (sic!), executive or commanding ability; whereas the real, unpaid, self-sacrificing, far-sighted leaders of the people they brand as disturbers of the peace, as disorderly and dangerous persons, as breeders of rebellion, as labor-shunning good-for-nothings. —The so-called aristocrat's laziness, languor or effeminacy, which manifests itself in drawling speech, slowness of ratiocination, action, bodily movemets, is admired as gentle, refined manners and stupidly imitated by impecunious would-be aristocrats; and in the same breath the very same laziness in some overworked or discouraged proletarian is harshly criticized as the cause of his poverty; nay, more, our self-important and over-wise psychiatrists promptly discover therein a symptom of degeneration, mental disease, moral perversion, and what—not.

(a'') Apparent Merits of Exploiters and Apparent Defects of the Exploited

The constant supervision of employees is extremely oppressing, for it kills their privacy, naturalness or spontaneity, their self-respect and forces them to be uninterruptedly conscious of their slavery, of their insecurity. Uninterrupted attention is painful in itself, even if the object attended to is a pleasant one. *A fortiori*, uninterrupted attention to a hateful object of thought is at least doubly painful. The only relief from a painful situation, such as economic dependence and insecurity, if we can not get out of it, is to forget it, not to think of it, by having our attention absorbed in our work, in day-dreams, or in other thoughts. But constant supervision—with the painful constant attention, repressions and

self-consciousness entailed thereby—makes even this self-deceptive consolation impossible. If in some branches of industry the cruel slave system of external supervision has been done away with, and has been replaced by piece-work which makes the worker supervise himself, work himself out of a job or work himself to death, this apparent stepping-stone to moral progress has not been caused by any altruistic regard in the exploiters, but is merely due to the fact that external supervision, like the entire slavery system, is or has become both expensive and unreliable. Exploiters, parasites, have never had any respect for human life and still less for human happiness. Their only guide is personal interest. If social progress happens to coincide with a furthering of their selfish interests, then, and only then, do they like to pose as humane, as promoters of progress and morality. At bottom, however, the successive stages of cannibalism, slavery, serfdom, wage system, although they are, or, more correctly, can be transformed into stepping-stones to genuine moral progress, are equally cruel and extremely egoistic systems of human parasitism. The exploiters, of course, and their salaried panegyrists, who do not let slip any opportunity that could be turned to their credit and to the discredit of their protesting victims, are rather too prone to praise as real and intended moral progress the abolition of chattel slavery, the introduction of self-supervision in the form of piece-work, the wage system with its apparent freedom and contractual form, the apparent lack of servilism in the relations between American employers and employees, etc.

But, on the other hand, the exploiters betray their ungratefulness and perversion when they accuse the exploited, their underpaid victims, of living like animals without any forethought, without any care for the future. Instead of blaming themselves and their damnable profit-seeking system for the workman's poverty and hard lot, they add insult to injury by throwing the blame on him, on his not wanting money hard enough, on his lack of needs for better things, on his lack of economic spirit, on his early marriage, on his large family, on his light-mindedness, etc. They forget that it is they who crush out of existence the serious-minded, i. e., the men with higher aims in life, the men whose energy flows imperturbably along definite channels; whereas they welcome the frivolous, thoughtless individuals whose energy runs to waste and can, therefore, be easily directed into any channel or applied to any task. They affect not to know that without some amount of thoughtlessness and forgetfulness, alcoholic or other stupefaction, without the deceitful hopes of gambling, without his family ties and affection, the disinherited would not and could not bear the heavy burden and hopeless condition imposed upon him by exploiters and their henchmen. His pay being insufficient to live on in the present, how could he save anything therefrom for the future unless he starved himself and his family to death, as he can not possibly take it out on the legally protected landlord, merchant, gas company, etc.?

Just as the theory of animal automatism (i. e., the baseless theory that animals are deprived of individuality, of souls, of consciousness, of intelligence, of the capacity for feeling pain and pleasure) is an unconscious attempt to justify our cruelty to animals and our carnivorous diet; just so do we try to justify our cruel exploitation of the poor by making ourselves believe in their natural or congenital stupidity, filthy habits, lack of higher or refined tastes, sentiments and needs, inability to make good use of leisure and of higher wages, etc. We forget that if such individuals are found among our slaves, it is because *we* have

selected them for survival, it is because we crush the intelligent, self-respecting and refined poor out of existence by refusing them employment, by humiliating or perverting them, by driving them into vagabondage or even into the dangerous career of extra-social criminality, by branding them as kickers, trouble makers, anarchists, etc.

And just as when we are struck by the individuality or soulfulness of some pet animal, we prefer to account for it on the hypothesis of transmigration, that is, we assume that some dead man's soul took possession of this animal's body, rather than acknowledge the kinship between us and animals and give up the pragmatic belief in animal automatism or soullessness; just so when the bourgeois are struck by the noble character, exceptional intelligence, or distinguished manners of some proletarian child, they prefer to account for it on the hypothesis that they have to deal here with the illegitimate, abandoned, orphaned, stolen, or adopted child of aristocratic parents, and, if this explanation does not fit, they prefer to resort to the assumption of an aristocratic ancestry rather than give up their pragmatic belief in the mental and moral inferiority of the poor.

Just as the narcotic drugs, resorted to by the despairing sufferers from painful nerve diseases, afford only temporary and apparent relief, while in reality sapping the vitality of their supposed beneficiaries and fastening their fangs ever deeper in the latter's very souls; just so do the pseudo-benefactors (exploiters, employers, money-lenders, bankers, professional rulers, leaders, philanthropists, etc.), resorted to for relief, guidance, employment by the people in distress, afford only temporary and apparent help, while in reality they gradually suck out the very life-bood and kill the souls (the self-respect, self-reliance, spirit of independence, spirit of initiative, higher aspirations, solidarity, mutual trust) of their supposed beneficiaries.

(a''') Collective Hatred. Racial and Class Prejudices. Antisemitism.

The superficial, formal, external, physical, linguistic, ... differences between ordinary men blind them as to their more universal, deeper, substantial, inner, psychical, ... similarities. Just as the contrast-effect of colors is the greater the nearer the colors are to each other; just so the nearer or more similar men are to each other, the more struck or offended are they by their mutual differences and the less conscious of or pleased with their similarities.

While, on the one hand, superficial, minor similarities (similar traits, aims, experiences, or interests) unite ordinary men, they lead on the other hand to quarrels and eventual dissension by making small or superficial differences appear more important than they are and by bringing men too close together, within the sphere of competition for the same worldly goods and privileges. Whereas differences (dissimilar traits, beliefs, interests, pursuits), while keeping or driving men apart, also prevent quarrels, jealousies, intolerance between them.

This explains why superior men are more tolerant towards philistines than towards their own kind and than the philistines are towards each other; why men belonging to different religious denominations, political parties, etc., are more tolerant or less intolerant towards each other than are men belonging to different sects and factions of the same religious denomination, political party, etc. If, under our individualistic, competitive, predatory regime, many men and particularly the rich feel and show more sympathy for animals than for their

fellowmen, it is because the greater differences and the lack of competition between men and animals render the similarities more striking, more agreeable, less offensive. Whereas the little bit of love existing between relatives is often obscured and made seemingly non-existent by the conflicts arising from the greater number of points of contact between relatives, from the more numerous opportunities to compete for the same things, from the lack of the restraining influence of mutual fear, from the unfortunately deeply rooted love of supremacy, from the unavoidable contact between uncongenial types of men, and particularly from unsatisfied demands upon consideration, sympathy, helpfulness, lenience.

Sympathy and love, antipathy and hatred, for man or things whose natures we are ignorant of, are certainly to be ascribed to suggestion, habit, education, association of ideas, illusions, misoneism; they have their cause in ourselves and anywhere else but in the inner qualities of the objects of our hatred or love. Thus, antisemites often mistake Jews for gentiles when they talk and dress like the latter, and usually have Jewish friends, i. e., they hate Jews collectively or in general, the Jews whom they are not well or closely acquainted with, but not those whom they know and understand, proving thereby that their hatred lacks an inductive basis and objective validity. And their special liking for those individual Jews who are willing to serve them, to revolve around them as mere satellites, to play second fiddle, proves beyond the shadow of a doubt the predatory, competitive, parasitic basis of their hatred for Jews in general.

Those antisemites who are naturally kind-hearted, who do not derive their hatred either from parental influence and suggestion or from inborn predatory, venomous, domineering and tyrannizing proclivities, usually extend illogically to the whole Jewish race their personal hatred for a few ostentatious Jewish parvenus or sharks (bankers, money-lenders, capitalists, landlords, employers) whose victims they happen to be. Such antisemites forget that Christians having the same profession are just as mean and inhuman as their Jewish colleagues. They mistake individual, professional, circumstantial immorality for a racial characteristic. They mistake some professional Jews for the typical, average Jews. A racial mental characteristic—if there be such—ought to be more or less common to all or to most of the individuals belonging to the same race, regardless of the profession, circumstances, social class which they happen to be born or driven into. Moreover, it is foolish , unfair, a sign of insincerity or of inconsistency, to hate and persecute foreigners on the ground that some of them live by exploiting the weaknesses and troubles of the people, in the capacity of money-lenders, bankers, landlords, capitalists, middlemen, merchants, employers, etc., while tolerating these professions in citizens or natives, as if it made any difference to the people by whom they are exploited, whether by Jew or gentile, whether by foreigners or fellow citizens.

The hatred of Jews, Negroes, immigrants, aliens, has the same psychological roots as the hatred of the poor, of the weak, of the unsuccessful. It springs mainly from the predatory, man-hunting or parasitic instinct and at best from the fact that moral philistines extend illogically their legitimate dislike for shiftlessness, poverty, landlessness, homelessness, weakness, failure, unlikeness to the majority, to the unfortunate men who through no fault of their own happen to be stricken with these forms of ill-luck. The hatred, contempt for social weaklings, who are morally the strongest and best element of nations, is just as

illogical, just as foolish, if not more so, as was the Spartans' dislike, persecution, or killing of bodily weaklings, among whom are found potentional intellectual giants.

The aristocratic or would-be aristocratic philistines, owing to their confused, personifying, materialistic way of thinking (which is a characteristic of the philistines of all times and places, and not only of the hypothetical primitive man, as our academical ethnologists, anthropologists and so-called folk psychologists would have us believe) avoid and despise the poor, not only because they regard the poor as responsible for their abject condition, but also because poverty, like sickness or any other human quality or condition, seems to them something concrete, palpable, material, transferable, contagious, a demon who takes possession of certain people and who can be gotten rid of by being transferred to others. And the pseudo-superior men or parasitical intellectuals, although they share with the rich many of their prejudices against and much of their contempt for the poor, pretend to drop all these prejudices when it suits their purposes. Thus they pretend to take an interest in the workers, in the poor, in the submerged, and to bestir themselves in the latter's behalf under the mask of philanthropic, religious, educational, patriotic, settlement work in order to extort money from the rich, create soft positions or sinecures for themselves, and vent their cruelty or bullying and predatory propensities upon the poor.

The Jewish parvenu, the Jewish self-seeker, the Jewish capitalist, politician, leader, head of a college or of a college department, the Jew who embraces a parasitical profession, the assimilated Jew in general and the Americanized Jew in particular, is certainly a more hideous, a more hateful, more predatory, coarser type of man than his Christian confrere; for he belongs to a poor, homeless, uninfluential, unlucky race, and hence needs an intenser greed, selfishness, pitilessness, callousness, astuteness in order to work himself up to, and maintain himself in, a so-called high social position than his richer, luckier, legally protected, more befriended Christian colleague. To admit a Jew into their ranks, the Christian leaders, politicians, prominent men, or pseudo-superior men, expect of him more mercenary services, more servilism, more flattery, greater willingness to do the *dirty work*, greater willingness to allow himself to be robbed of the credit due to him, more venality, more reciprocation than they can possibly expect of his Christian rival. And the great mass of harmless, poor, hard-working, honest, good-natured, peace-loving, persecuted Jews are stupid enough to be proud of the minority of successful or prominent Jews who understand how to pose as benefactors of their race, when in reality it is they who provoke antisemitic outbreaks and make the whole race suffer and pay for their crimes, ostentatiousness, rapacity and obtrusiveness, political ambitions, thirst for power. The Jewish philistine masses, like the masses of other denominations, allow themselves to be fed on empty pride and promises, on the shadow of the glory, power, spoils and wealth acquired by their pseudo-leaders; they do not notice how these self-constituted leaders and supposed upholders of Judaism or Jewish tradition imperceptibly and gradually desert their ranks to join the army of the persecutors, to become fiercer antisemites and inquisitors than born Christians. The places of the deserters or renegades are immediately filled by new self-seekers, by new prospective traitors.

Light added to light results in an intenser light, and only exceptionally does it result in darkness; whereas darkness added to darkness invariably results

in deeper darkness. Just so with the contact of various social classes, nations, races. The contact between immature, ignorant, superstitious, prejudice-bound social classes, nations, races, invariably results in deeper darkness of mind and of heart (prejudices, hatred, demoralization) which is detrimental to both parties, especially to that party which is poor or in a minority. Thus the so-called reformed or assimilated Jews are in reality a dirtier type of Jew-haters than the antisemitic Christians with whom they claim to have assimilated themselves. Where the contact between two nations or races, which are equally stricken with intellectual blindness and equally enshrouded in the darkness of ignorance and superstition, is closest (Negroes and whites in the southern United States, Jews and Christians in so-called tolerant countries, Indians and Whites in missionary centers or in the reservations, contact between Jewish and Christian children in so-called intellectual and unorthodox Jewish families), there the hatred and prejudices are the most intense and the most detrimental. The only socially useful contact, the only contact which leads to international morality, is the contact which takes place after enlightenment, during the stage of intellectual maturity. The so-called civilizing and moralizing influence of wars, trade, missions, . . . , is a mere fiction, a mere attractive and confidence-inspiring mask put on by parasitical leaders and rulers, in order to hide the hideous rapacity which can not help betraying itself in their true physiognomies.

The assimilation of nations and of races as dreamt of by moral geniuses has nothing to do with the assimilation preached by so-called enlightened or reformed Jews, which is in reality a cowardly, disguised, roundabout way of deserting the ranks of persecuted Judaism and of intruding imperceptibly among the more favorably situated Christian nations, and consists in exchanging one set of foolish, empty conventions for another. True assimilation does not mean to exchange the superstitions, prejudices, false beliefs, narrow-hearted views, puerilities and absurdities of one's own persecuted, vanquished nation for those of the persecutors, conquerors. True, self-respecting, disinterested assimilation does not mean to withdraw one's love or friendship from one's own nation or race and to obtrude it upon members of another one, who neither need nor want it, and who are ready to repay it with increasing antipathy and with just indignation. If the Jewish moral genius—I have in mind noble souls like Herzl and Nordau—stigmatizes this kind of assimilation as disguised self-seeking, cowardice, cringing before the dominant race, as lack of self-respect and of character, as a stupidly endorsed suggestion of contempt for one's self and for one's own nation; and if he heartily welcomes the Zionistic movement, it is not because he is blind to the loftier, purer and broader ideals of internationalism, socialism and cosmopolitanism, it is not because he is blind to the narrowness or stultifying, strife-breeding character of nationalism, it is not because he wants to maintain national and racial demarcation lines. It is only because the masses are not fit as yet for socialism and because the national demarcation lines are still too sharp, too jealously guarded, even by the educated and by many socialists, to be done away with so easily and so quickly as to render a separate solution of the Jewish question superfluous. It is also because he knows the unwillingness and inability of the philistine masses of different nations to assimilate themselves, as well as the degrading or demoralizing influence of assimilation upon the assimilable minorities of conquered or alien peoples.

Should it occur to some one to preach love for and association with the beasts of prey as the best remedy for men of settling the conflicts between human and animal interests, he would surely be declared insane. But if here and there a more fearless and more consistent socialist preaches contempt and hatred—not brutal, blind, indiscriminating hatred—against the human beasts of prey, against the rich, against the exploiters and tyrants of the masses, he is accused of immorality, as if love for everybody and for everything were possible, or always a moral motive and virtue, as if love for vice and for the vicious could go together with love for virtue and the virtuous, as if attraction could exist without repulsion, as if it were possible to be simultaneously attracted in two opposite directions. He is accused of arousing class consciousness, as if it were a crime to teach the sheep to keep at a distance from wolves. He is accused of sowing hatred and discord among men, as if all men were alike and equally harmless or well-meaning. Are the human beasts of prey less dangerous because they happen to belong to the same animal species as the harmless toiling masses? On the contrary, this makes the case much worse; for every animal can distinguish from a distance the enemies of its race, whereas we men come to perceive too late the beast of prey that is hidden behind a human shape. When we unmask the human beast, we are already in his clutches. That these clutches take on the form of authority, legal agreements, or rather legal traps and weapons, does not alter the situation of the victim; it only makes it worse, inescapable. By mere love we can not hope to transform a carnivorous into a herbivorous animal. Without physical or moral compulsion—I prefer moral compulsion, because it is more efficient and does not lend itself to corruption or perversion, and because it is really the only weapon left against the otherwise unconquerable power of capital—no rich idler will give up his idle life, no exploiter will give up his robberies. It is therefore the duty of all honest and intellectual men to teach the poor to shun snobs and reciprocate their contempt; to despise the rich who persist in idleness and luxury; to hate the employers who oppress, overwork and underpay their employees; to look down upon, and not up to, the materialistic pursuits of so-called aristocrats; to avoid their company and friendship, unless they earnestly try to serve mankind and devote themselves to genuine social service; to consider every wealthy man guilty, as long as he does not return his land, mines, factories, wealth or means of production to the community in the midst of which they have been immorally acquired; to look with suspicion upon the alleged reformation of the rich, as long as they do not try to drop their predatory and cruel instinct by inter-marrying with the instinctively meek and honest toilers; to work simultaneously towards the abolition of wealth-inheritance and towards the increasing public care for the younger generations; to work simultaneously towards diminishing the opportunities for private financial speculation and towards increasing the sphere of collective or governmental enterprises; etc. The greatest obstacle for the poor in their path towards progress and happiness is to look up to and to strive to imitate the false, perverted, anti-social aims of life of the degenerate rich. Hatred for the predatory, autocratic, parasitical, idle type of men does not necessarily mean that they must be killed, persecuted or ill-treated, as they do with the truth-loving and altruistic defenders of the people. It merely means that they have to be rendered undangerous or shorn of their power; they must be shunned until they prove worthy of the company of honest men; their hired panegyrists must be unmasked; etc.

The same applies to the relations between Jews and so-called Christians, between Negroes and Whites, between natives and immigrants, etc. Every self-respecting Jew must despise the antisemites; avoid the company and friendship of, and not intermarry with, Christians, unless they prove to be Christians not only in name, but also in their conduct and inner feelings, etc. Mere indiscriminating love for Christians will not transform an active Jew-hater into a friend of the Jews; for such an individual overflows with poison which he must discharge into the organism of some harmless, unprotected human being (Jew, Negro, foreigner, proletarian, ...). It is a source of unhappiness and of demoralization for the Jew (Negro) if he indiscriminately looks up to Christians (Whites) as models, and strives for their affection, esteem or friendship.

The contempt of the rich individual for the poor and his aversion to mingling with them is not so much an effect of his low opinion about their abilities and character as an effect of his fear lest on closer contact he should betray his own ignorance and incapacity; it is a means of discouraging the poor from asking him for assistance, fair treatment, respect for their merits; it is a self-deceptive means of justifying or excusing his exploiting them or treating them as tools; it is a means of frightening away and keeping at a safe distance the critically-minded among the poor who, if allowed more intimacy with the so-called better or upper class, could easily prove that it is in reality the worse or lower, that is, the less able, the less enlightened, the less self-respecting class. I advisedly call them less self-respecting because the same individual who with his stiffness, self-assumed authority and importance, puffed-up airs frightens away his social or financial inferiors, is not ashamed in the least of prostituting himself to and of crawling before his financial superiors; he is not ashamed of trying to attract them with fawning smiles, with simulated stupidity and modesty.

It is not mere self-conceit that prevents the rich, aristocrats, rulers, social superiors, employers from befriending the poor, plebeians, ruled, social inferiors, employees, and from acknowledging their merits, but also selfishness, greed, parasitism which makes them shrink from facing the truth about their real relations to the working class. To admit the good qualities of the poor would mean to give up the smooth way of living by preying upon them. For the rich man to admit that the poor are as good as he himself would mean to admit that all men have equal rights and equal duties. For him the poor man is good when he is so stupid as to allow himself ungrudgingly to be fleeced, overworked, underpaid, underfed, exploited, and so naive as to be thankful for being tolerated to live. The only poor he is accessible to are those who have what he calls "pride," that is, those who worship wealth, feel ashamed of their poverty, and hence would not ask him for help, and furnish him with amusement by their futile attempts at concealing their poverty and keeping up appearances.

The primitive, brutal, violent, frank robber, who is after actual commodities and ready cash, is usually compelled to face his victims and to rob them directly. He can often appease his conscience, if he have any, by saying to himself that his victims are anyhow rich parasites and that he merely deprived them of a surplus of dispensable worldly goods. Whereas the modern, disguised, crafty robber who preys upon the poor masses can no longer face his victims with such excuses. Nor is he compelled to face them, owing to our factory system with hired supervisors and slave-drivers and also owing to our complicated

financial and credit system which allows him—by the issue of watered stock, or by so-called capitalization of fictitious or foreign abilities, property, insecure prospects, etc.—to draw in advance his profits and titles to future production or to the fruit of others' labor. If, however, compelled occasionally to speak about, or to remind himself of the existence of, or even to face, his victims, the modern robber resorts to self-sophistication, to auto-suggested low opinions of the toiling class. His hatred, contempt and shunning of the poor subserves the same aim as his auto-suggested feelings of superiority, self-importance, directive usefulness, etc. On the one hand, the parasites (idlers, stockholders, exploiters, nobility, kings, patricians, . . .) hate and avoid their victims (workers, plebeians, proletarians, subordinates, . . .) in the hope of thus forgetting their crimes and the sources of their wealth and comforts, and in order to live undisturbed in their sweet illusions of self-importance and superiority. On the other hand, they would like to see their victims pay them homage and bow in gratitude, thus strengthening their shaking auto-suggested conviction of their own social usefulness; but they are afraid that the poor might betray through gestures of discontentedness or by their dilapidated, emaciated, underfed and under-developed bodies the opposite from duties of gratitude. The hatred of the human parasites for the working class contains also the dislike of the dependent for his master; they dislike their "maitres sans le savoir" who are still unconscious of but might some day wake up to the fact that they are the real producers and bread-givers. Another constituent of the aristocratic hatred and contempt for the workers has its source in self-defense. If the idlers did not hate and despise their victims they ought to hate and despise themselves, which is certainly beyond their power. I do not mean to say that the parasites are quite conscious of these motives or feelings of theirs; if they were perfectly aware of them, they would try to free themselves of them; nay, the clear consciousness itself would already be a sign that these feelings are being displaced by nobler ones, or are forced upon them by circumstances, from outside, and not from inside or by heredity.

As a rule, class hatred, the hatred of foreign nations, and racial hatred go together. The antisemite is at the same time a chauvinist or jingoist, an oppressor of the peasants, an imperialist, an exploiter of immigrants, an enemy and exploiter of other races. The aristocrats, the capitalists and their retainers or agents, who hate, despise and prey upon the toiling masses of their own nationality, also persecute the intellectual proletarians or the enlighteners and champions of the emancipation of the masses; they also instigate war against and prey upon other nations and races; in order to divert attention from the systematic robbery which they themselves practice upon their own nation, these parasites fan the instinctive but otherwise harmless, passive, purely defensive or misoneistic racial antipathies of their toiling compatriots into active, aggressive hatred and persecution of foreigners (Jews, Negroes, etc.). Thus the Roumanian parasitic or aristocratic classes, whose entire political eloquence consists in venting their hatred upon the Jews, do not treat any better their own brothers, the peasants ("talpa terei"), whom they maintain in ignorance, drudgery, practical slavery, and whom they mercilessly shoot down like mad dogs if they dare to show discontent with the noble task assigned to them, viz., the task of providing food, luxuries, traveling expenses for their refined, gentlemanly, city-bred brothers, guardians and hot-air patriots.

The hatred or rather antipathy of the toiling masses for different types of men is harmless, passive, either of a misoneistic nature, i. e., due to mental inertia, intellectual narrowness, suggestibility, hence reluctance to yield to suggestion and to exchange their habits of life, or of an objective and defensive nature, i. e., due to unpleasant individual or ancestral experience with ill-minded strangers. Whereas the scorn and hatred of the parasitic classes for their victims is entirely subjective, unjustifiable, aggressive, offensive, of a predatory nature, that is to say, it is psychical poison used as a weapon for stunning the victims in order the more easily to fleece them; it is poison excreted under the stimulus of inner dissatisfaction, greed, insatiable and imperious desires —and not in consequence of outer provocation, attack or insult—and discharged upon the poor, weak, unprotected, good-natured on the slightest and most trifling pretext. And just as the hatred, prejudices, intolerance of the productive class differ *toto orbe* from those of the predatory class, just so do their souls differ in all other respects. The productive individuals are less sensitive to the pangs of hunger and to bodily discomfort, owing to their other preoccupations (artistic, religious, domestic, affective); whereas the predatory individuals are too impatient to produce the necessaries of life, too irritated by their ungratified wants, too eagerly or too impulsively anticipating their bodily pleasures to have patience for anything else but for grabbing—by using either violence or trickery or both—the possessions of others and for urging or compelling them to accumulate and produce anew.

This differentiation of the human races into a predatory and a productive variety probably did not begin until the advent of the glacial period, when food became scarce and the necessity of storing away food as well as the necessity of seriously—and not merely amateurishly like in preglacial times—cultivating the land, that is, the necessity of transplanting, selecting, assisting, protecting the fruit-bearing trees or other nourishing plants, made themselves felt. The extremely voracious individuals either died out or, driven into moral insanity by intense hunger, did not shrink from eating anybody or anything they could lay their hands on. This primeval large-bodied, burly, materialistic, or voracious variety of men developed into, became the ancestors of, cannibals, slave-hunters, warriors, feudal lords, hereditary aristocrats, sinecurists, politicians, privilege and power-seekers, captains of industry, who, while justifying their privileged position by pretending to cultivate the nobler, higher, artistic pursuits, in reality sow discord, prejudices, hatred, mutual distrust, insecurity and exterminate the free-thinking type of men, drive into extra-social crime the independence-loving as well as the drudgery-abhorring individuals, and spare only the stupid, hardworking philistines who allow themselves to be fleeced as well as the deceitful pseudo-superior men who are willing to serve as their tools. The splitting up of the human races into a predatory type and a productive type is a process that goes on continually and is kept up by the pressure of economic insecurity or dependence. The hereditarily predatory class, in consequence of over-indulgence, selfishness, congenital or acquired degeneracy, would soon die out if its ranks did not find substitutes and retainers among the minority of predatory individuals springing up in the midst of the toiling masses.

Not only do the various kinds of hatred or prejudice (racial, national, social, aristocratic, denominational, class prejudices) go together, but they also belong to the same class, that is, they differ only in degree and sphere of extension but

not in content, intension or kind. Thus the Jews, whom all the Christian nations agree to hate, fail to see that the antisemitism of Christians differs in degree only from the contempt which they themselves feel for their own brothers who happen to have been born in different countries, into different professions, or social classes. Likewise, the Christian nations who agree to hate the Jews, the whites who agree to hate the colored people, etc., fail to see that these prejudices differ but in degree from the prejudices which they entertain towards their own brothers when they happen to belong to a different nation, political party, religious sect, social class or when they happen to have been born in a different part of the same country. The various active hatreds or prejudices spring from a common root, viz., from conflicting economic interests, competition for the same things, inborn parasitic proclivities or the desire to prey upon others, and not from conflicting ideals, cultures, principles, philosophies, as is usually alleged.

My insistence upon collective hatreds (racial, national, denominational, party, class, etc.) does not blind me to the existence of the less flagrant, more veiled and hidden, but equally acute individual hatreds, antipathies, jealousies, rivalries. The average man, particularly the predatory, ambitious, aristocratic, commercial philistine, is a hateful animal ready to begrudge others their happiness, health or success and ready to hate, persecute, undermine his rivals, colleagues and particularly those whom he can not use to advance his own interests. The collective hatreds obscure the existence of these individual hatreds, and give the illusion of solidarity among the predatory philistines belonging to the same race, nation, party, church, class, etc. In reality their only solidarity consists in the agreement to hate and prey upon other races, nations, classes. Finding support in each other and finding justification for their hatred in real or imaginary social differences, they dare openly to express their collective hatreds in words and in action; whereas their individual hatreds they must veil, hide, repress, vent in covert ways because not a sufficient number happen to hate the same individual and because individuals belonging to the same group enjoy comparatively equal protection.

(b) ALTRUISTIC MOTIVES

Altruism is a brain organ, fully developed in moral geniuses and undeveloped or even entirely absent in anti-social, predatory individuals, in whom it is superseded by the antagonistic organ or faculty of pugnacity, predacity, destructiveness, hatred. That the entire brain or mind is concerned in, or pressed into the service of, any altruistic or predatory act, does not prove anything against the assertion of phrenologists that the brain consists of organs just as the body as a whole does, and that a special brain organ is the seat of altruism; just as the fact that the entire body is concerned in any act of locomotion, respiration, digestion, speech, etc., does not prove anything against the existence of specific organs presiding over these functions.

Altruism is therefore not merely a sytem of affections or sentiments; it is also a system of impulses, and implies a certain amount of knowledge. The affective side of altruism consists in rejoicing and suffering with others, in partially or temporarily identifying oneself with them; the volitional part consists in an impulse to cause pleasure to others and to relieve them from pain; the cognitive part of altruism consists in a certain amount of knowledge about the needs and sufferings of others. All these three components go together and mutually

condition each other, although in abnormal cases one component may be too much developed at the expense of the others. One, for instance, knows so much about economic misery, and about the various kinds of misery of so many people that he does not know what kind of misery to attack first, and what class of suffering men to relieve first; he must either commit suicide in despair of his impotence, or shut his eyes and heart. Another one feels so strongly that his activity becomes paralyzed thereby; etc. But in normal cases these three components of altruism go hand in hand. It is impossible really to pity others without understanding their troubles, and without doing something towards their relief. It is impossible to know about the sufferings of others without pitying them. This is the reason why the rich shut their eyes to the sufferings of the poor by denying the reality of these sufferings, or by denying to the poor the possession of refined sentiments and of any consciousness of their unhappy condition. This is also the reason why the true altruist can not whole-heartedly enjoy luxuries and amusements; for, by way of contrast, the vision of unfortunate men and women and of innocent children lacking the bare necessaries of life haunts him at such moments more than at any other time. Those egoistic rich who are too sharp-eyed not to see or to avoid seeing the misery of the toiling masses, and who are not so hard-hearted as to refuse their sympathy to the disinherited, try to paralyze their impulses to action by making themselves believe that no remedy is possible, that the misery of the masses is an inexorable law of nature, that the poor will always be with us. For the easiest, most expedient, and least expensive solution of the social question is to declare poverty as the unavoidable, unimproveable lot of the ignorant, simple-minded, inadaptable, abnormal, apathetical people. It is, of course, more convenient and more flattering for the rich to ascribe poverty to improvidence, lack of ability, laziness and to all sorts of bad qualities, instead of ascribing it to their own rapacity, selfishness, cruelty, exploitation of the disinherited. Their own wealth is naturally due solely to good qualities. The numerous progeny of the poor is due, the rich maintain, to improvidence, sensuality, forgetfulness of parental duties, and not to conjugal affection, monogamous sexual intercourse, exclusion from the other pleasures of life, natural optimism, i. e., the hope of seeing their children enjoy the comforts and happiness which have been denied their parents. Whereas their own scarcity of children is explained by all kinds of good qualities, instead of being ascribed to their sterility, degeneracy, nervous exhaustion, perversion of sexual instincts, lack of conjugal affection, and hence infrequency of monogamous sexual intercourse, artificial restraint in rich women due to the love of personal comfort and of social pleasures but not in the least to any regard for the future of the children.

If altruistic feelings, knowledge and impulses are inseparably connected, we understand how ridiculous it is on the part of mercenary moralists and capitalistic hirelings to try to explain away the lack of altruism, the hard-heartedness or narrow-heartedness of exploiters and of would-be exploiters by attributing it to their lack of imaginativeness or of acquaintance with the troubles of the poor. How do they dare to make such an assertion when it is well known that the exploiters betray their acquaintance with the poor men's troubles in their devilish methods of taking advantage thereof and of saving themselves therefrom; when it is known that these parasites expend their remnant of love upon animals, whose labor power they no longer need, rather than upon their victim-

ized fellow-men, with whose labor power they do not feel inclined to dispense; and when it is known, moreover, that most exploiters have been poor themselves and have risen out of poverty just because they were hard-hearted enough to climb on the backs of their more kind-hearted brothers?

The same self-seeking henchmen of capitalists who try so hard to excuse the latter's hard-heartedness and to pass off their interested, selfish actions for disinterested, patriotic, philanthropic ones, do not mind the inconsistency of trying on the other hand, at the same time, to belittle, ignore, deny the genuine altruistic motives of idealists and to deny the reality of disinterestedness and of altruism in general; and in this last assertion they are sincerer than in the others, for how should they be able to conceive of something that they themselves have never felt? But if coercive evidence compels them to admit the existence of, and to busy themselves with, altruism, then the nearest they can come to an understanding thereof is by identifying it with or subsuming it under egoism, by conceiving of it as mere deluded or enlightened self-interest, as an investment, as a present sacrifice made in the hope of large returns in the future, or by seeing therein a symptom of mental abnormality, hysteria, etc.

As a matter of fact, altruism is just as real as, and no more mysterious though, alas, less common than, egoism. The self-sacrifice of the altruist for the benefit of his loved ones is no more mysterious than the egoist's sacrificing of others for his own benefit. For suppression, sacrifice, of something or other—of parts of the body for the benefit of the entire organism, of diseased organs or parts thereof for the benefit of the healthy ones, of present desires, interests, possessions for the sake of remote interests, future gratification, long-run greater or more permanent possessions—is a daily occurrence in every man's life. If the altruist suppresses and sacrifices daily the baser part of his self to save the nobler part, what wonder, then, that he should be ready to sacrifice his own comfort, health, and even life for the benefit of his children, ideals ,nation, race, fellowmen, whom he feels to be the better and more enduring part of his own self, or rather the Great Immortal Self of which his own miserable self is but a perishable, ephemeral manifestation?

The egoistic philosophy of human motives—which decries all altruism as useless and selfish at bottom, on the ground that if everybody would attend to his own business there would be no need of altruism, and on the ground that altruists find the same personal pleasure or gratification in doing things for others as egoists derive from doing things for themselves and that this personal pleasure is the sole cause of the altruists' deeds—is based on the following implicit or explicit and mutually contradictory false assumptions: (1) That all feelings are subjective, hence all pleasures are identical and equally selfish, regardless of the actions flowing therefrom or leading thereto, the pleasure derived from causing pleasure and happiness to others being identical to and just as selfish as the pleasure derived from causing pain and unhappiness to others; (2) That feeling (in this case: pleasure) is the cause or antecedent of impulse or volition (in this case: altruistic impulse); (3) that psycho-physiological processes are irreversible, hence feeling always precedes and causes muscular activity and hence actual or anticipated personal pleasure is the cause of altruistic deeds; (4) that the sympathy or pleasure we give to others is really personal pleasure or sympathy with ourselves, as we must first identify ourselves with others or put ourselves in their

place before we are prompted to act; (5) that only action performed from a sense of pure abstract duty, at the cost of personal pain, suffering, privation, can be termed strictly moral or unselfish; (6) that the altruist does other people's work and expects others to do his.

As a matter of fact: (1) Feelings, like ideas, may be either subjective or objective, and vary both in quality and quantity with the objects or occasions by which they are aroused, for otherwise it ought to make no difference to the agent whether he derives his pleasure from doing good or from doing harm to others and the predatory egoist ought not to feel pained, as he does, by other people's happiness and pleased by their unhappiness; (2) feelings, ideas and impulses are but different aspects or rather components of the same mental processes; (3) psycho-physiological processes are reversible, or rather cyclical, mental activity (feelings and impulses) leading to muscular and physiological activity, which in turn causes further mental activity, both activities being but segments of the same vital cycle; (4) consciousness of self and consciousness of others or of not-self are just as correlated and inseparable as the inside and outside of things, the concavity and convexity of curves, the difference between the egoist and the altruist being that in the former the two aspects of consciousness are antagonistic while in the latter they are mutually supplementary; (5) action is never caused or prompted by abstractions or pure ideas, nor can pain in itself be an end of sane human activity (even the self-inflicted bodily and mental pain, suffering, privation of ascetics, religious fanatics, martyrs are assumed with a view to higher, spiritual pleasure or with a view to avoiding greater, spiritual pain), for pain as an end would defeat itself by causing the destruction of the agent and hence the cessation of all human activity; (6) the altruist does for others only what they can not do for themselves or unaided, and advocates collective action wherever individual effort is inadequate, as no man can be self-sufficient and men's abilities and opportunities are necessarily unequal.

EXTENSION AND INTENSION OF ALTRUISM.

Not only concepts, but also sentiments (sympathy, antipathy, love, hatred, admiration, etc., etc.), have an extension and an intension.

The sphere or extension of a sentiment, say altruism, is the number of real persons and objects included in our altruistic concern. The intension of the altruistic sentiment consists of thoughts about, feelings for, actions in behalf of, the persons liked:

I(ntension) = Ic(ognitive) + Ie(motional) + Iv(olitional). Extension and intension vary inversely, but their product may be considered as fairly constant in a mentally balanced individual.

$$E \cdot I = C \qquad E = C : I = C : (Ic + Ie + Iv)$$

E and I can not be separated. There is no sympathy, attraction without an object—real or imaginary—sympathized with, liked; and vice versa: there is no object, person, idea, thought which do not either attract or repel us (what we call indifferent objects or persons, are objects or persons not thought of, or not known to us). Just as physical attraction and repulsion have no separate, but only a relational existence; just so sympathy and antipathy are relations between one's self and others' selves as known to him.

If E increases, then $I = Ic + Ie + Iv$ decreases in one of the following ways: (1) If the persons forming E have equal importance or weight, or expect to be equally treated, then there is either a parallel decrease in the three components of I, or only a successive decrease, i. e., Iv, from a continuous, sincere action in behalf of every individual's immediate and future, vital and ornamental needs, becomes a discontinuous, occasional, or even simulated, verbal action in behalf of his future vital needs only. With a further increase of E, Iv may become zero or mere talk, then Ie begins to decrease until it also becomes mere verbal (oratorical) feeling, then Ic begins to decrease until it becomes mere flattery, as the case may be seen in politicians, demagogues, leaders of masses. We lose in quality what we gain in quantity, and vice-versa. (2) If the persons forming E have unequal weights (family, friends, acquaintances, fellow-citizens, fellow-men, animals), we give unequal average amounts of altruistic concern to every group. We may have for a certain individual belonging to a group of small weight (animal) more sympathy than for a certain individual belonging to a group of more weight (fellow-citizen); but a normal man under normal circumstances distributes and graduates his amounts of sympathetic concern in the above descending order:

$$E = fa + fr + a + fc + fm + an$$

$$E.I = fa.i_1 + fr.i_2 + a.i_3 + \text{- - - - - - - -}$$

$$i_1 > i_2 > i_3$$

A more correct formula of the variation in the intensity of our affections towards individuals belonging to different groups ought to take into consideration not only the extension of the groups, but also the distances in time, space, relationship, congeniality, pursuits, . . . between lover and beloved: $I = C:E.D$, where D is the resultant of all these distances. $I = C:E.D$ expresses the affection for each member of a group. E. $I = C:D$ is the total affection for the group.

Theoretically, i. e., in our imagination, we see no reason why in the distribution and extension of our love we should stop at mankind, and not go beyond it; we do not see any reason why we should stop at man-kind, and not extend our love to animals, plants, to the inanimate world, to the entire universe; just as in our day- or night-dreaming we feel much less difficulty in traversing colossal distances in a few seconds than we feel in real life when walking a distance of a few feet. Practically, however, our altruistic capacity is limited; it gets exhausted if divided among too many objects of affection. The altruist is able to rejoice over everybody's happiness, but he is not capable to contribute actively and separately towards the building -up of the happiness of many particular individuals. He whose love is actively engaged in defending the cause of animals, has as a rule very little love left for his fellow-men. He whose patriotism consists in overflowing love for the mountains, valleys, rivers, language, folk-lore, dead and fictitious heroes of his country, for the flag, symbols, empty phrases,. . . . has very little genuine love for the living, concrete, real fellow-citizens. Genuine altruism demands a graduation in our love for others; our active love must be proportional to the number of persons affected thereby, and also to the intimacy and energy of their claims on our active response. Genuine patriotism does not exclude cosmopolitism; it does not demand depreciation of, contempt and hatred for, whatever is foreign; nor does it demand blind love for and blind confidence in whatever belongs to our native land. With increasing economical security the sphere of altruism expands in time and space. It is continually broadened in

the spatial direction so as to include successively the family, tribe, nation, race, mankind, the animal kingdom, the animate world, the universe; it is also broadened simultaneously in the temporal direction so as to include not only contemporaries but also ancestors, immediate and remote posterity.

In the presence of so many heart-rending human sufferings, whoever espouses over-actively the cause of animals (vegetarians, anti-vivisectionists, societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, etc.) must be suspected either of morbid, perverted, degenerative altruism, or of shrewd commercialism that thrives on such perverted sentiments. Normal altruism impels us first to settle our accounts with our fellowmen before we take sides for animals, first to see to it that surgeons and physicians stop treating the poorer classes as mere raw material for vivisection before we send in our protests against the cruel and useless experimentation upon animals.

BOOK FOUR

Origin and Conditions of Morality.

INTRODUCTORY REMARK: SOURCES OF MORALITY

The factors leading to morality (justice, altruism, solidarity, co-operation, etc.), are inextricably mixed with the factors leading to immorality, and only for the sake of convenience do we deal with them separately. Likewise, moral statics and moral dynamics do not deal with separate and separable aspects of morality, and for this reason the one can not be understood without the other; for morality, like any other phenomenon, can not be fully grasped until we know how it originated, how it grows and decays, how it thrives or becomes perverted, how it is preserved or maintained.

CHAPTER I.

Productive Causes of Morality.

(a) DIRECT CAUSES.

(a') Spontaneous Origin of Altruism

IS a certain amount or form of altruism, affinity, consciousness of kind, a cause of association? Or is association a cause of altruism?

The fact that even animals which instinctively hate one another, like the dog and the cat, come to like one another if they live together; the fact that we love not only our countrymen but also the inanimate things, the language, customs, landscapes, rivers, mountains, belonging to our country; the fact that we, average men, love our country, family, acquaintances, countrymen more than strangers, even if intellectually the strangers are nearer to us, more like us, than our own brothers, sisters; all these facts prove that association, group life, mutual acquaintance, mutual adaptation or habituation, is prior to and a cause of or at least a condition for altruism. Just as a rolling ball which happens to drop into a hole remains therein and begins to adhere to it in consequence of its necessity of staying there, in consequence of the ensuing exchange of atoms between the ball and its immediate surroundings, and not because of any *a priori* tendency towards or affinity for that particular hole; just so do average men feel fascinated by their own country, particularly by their native place, and give preference to their own countrymen over foreigners because they have become mutually acquainted or rather adapted, and not because of the subsequently invented fictitious geographical and national peculiarities.

But if altruism is an effect or by-product of accidental, involuntary association, it may become a cause of particular and voluntary animal or human associations as soon as the altruistic feeling is generalized, that is, extended to all the beings and objects similar to those to whom we are emotionally adapted.

The association, the gregariousness or the living together of animals or human beings, is rather an external condition for, than a cause of, the genesis of altruism and morality: it is the proper soil for their growth. If mere association, mere mingling with others, were a sufficient or important condition for the genesis of altruism, we ought to find more altruism in the so-called sociable, society-seeking men than in the solitary, retired individuals; we ought not to draw a sharp dividing line between business or professional friends and private friends; we ought not to lose our capacity for disinterested friendship in mature age when we have

to take upon ourselves the burden of earning a living. Not the necessity of living together, not compulsory association, but voluntary or accidental association, and, still more so, co-operative association, favor the birth of altruism, and of morality. Necessity, economic dependence, can only create or encourage servilism, hypocrisy, hidden distrust and enmity, and at best interested or spurious friendship. Thus women would be less distrustful, less affected, much sincerer, less addicted to nagging, and would act more conscientiously or less exactingly and less despotically towards their husbands if they did not depend economically on the latter; social life would look less like a tragi-comedy, would be less theatrical, if so many did not depend economically on their pleasing particular men. Necessity does not teach how to feel friendship for others, it merely teaches how "to make friends," i. e., how to simulate friendship towards privileged and influential persons. The dependent and uncared-for individual needs all his love for himself: the uncertainty in which he lives absorbs all his energy, leaving no surplus for altrusitic purposes. Men working together, in close association, in the same office or factory, depending on each other for their livelihood, reputation or advancement, neither love nor trust each other; but the very same men develop affection for and confidence in outsiders and colleagues less closely associated with them, with whom they are not compelled to associate, compete or curry favor.

Altruism arises spontaneously among social animals in consequence of a surplus of emotional energy. Solidary or social animals do not need as much energy to preserve themselves as unsocial, solitary animals do. Hence, the surplus energy transforms itself into capacity for sympathizing, cooperating, loving. The same quantity of sentimental energy which in an unsocial or isolated condition has to be spent, concentrated upon the welfare of one being, becomes in a social condition diffused over ever wider circles of similar or congenial beings. Up to the age of adolescence even the philistine—as long as he is being taken care of, or as long as his needs are still simple, natural, easily gratified—is capable of true friendship and of disinterested pursuits; but as soon as he enters the battle for life, and needs his entire energy to provide for himself and his family, he becomes incapable of altruism and of any other disinterested aims of life; he relapses into the aggressiveness and deceitfulness of the predatory animals. Egoism which is natural in a competitive society, in the isolated, abandoned, poor, sick, orphaned, economically dependent (women, servants, courtiers), immature individual, is an anomaly, a perversion in a cooperative society, in a social, cared-for, rich, healthy, independent, grown-up individual. The rich who do not need to be continually on the alert for their personal advantages and to struggle in vain for a bare existence, ought, it seems, according to the above given theory of altruism, to be unselfish, charitable, whereas the poor ought to be selfish. In reality, however, the reverse is true. But this fact does not contradict our theory if we consider those rich people who have risen from poverty exactly because they were selfish, pitiless exploiters of their fellowmen, exactly because they have not wasted their energy in pitying and helping others, exactly because they heartlessly shook off all their poor relations or acquaintances who tried to hang on to their coat tails in order to save themselves from sinking to the level of the completely submerged; and if we keep before our mind that the children of such *parvenus*, at least in the first generation, inherit the aversion to intellectual pursuits, the greediness and selfishness of their parents, although they do not need as much thereof

in order to increase and maintain their wealth as their parents needed in order to create it.

Association, being but the external condition for the genesis of altruism, is by far less important than congeniality and objective-mindedness or alterocentration, which are the internal conditions therefor. In other words, no amount (length and closeness) of association can make up for the lack of these internal conditions. Thus uncongenial, self-centered individuals remain strangers after years of close association and are ready to part forever without shedding a tear; while congenial, alterocentered individuals feel after a few moments' acquaintance as if they had known each other forever and are deeply pained if they have to part. Only association between congenial, altero-centered individuals leads to genuine, disinterested, pure love or friendship; whereas the attachment brought about by long and close association between uncongenial, self-centered individuals is spurious, interested, impure, extrinsic, indirect, easily dissoluble.

In the moral philistine altruism is embryonal, blind, narrow, sporadically and intermittently active, usually inextricably blended with selfishness and coexistent with competitive or predatory impulses; in the unprofessional philanthropist and reformer it rises to a somewhat higher stage of condescending, half-hearted pity for the victims of our competitive regime; in the sincere, unprofessional socialist altruism has risen to a higher stage of theoretical purity, constancy, broad-heartedness, consciousness of purpose, aim of life; and in the philosophical or idealistic anarchists we find the highest development of altruism reached so far, that is, an altruism which is both theoretically and practically pure, constant, broad, active. Of course, each of these classes admits of subdivisions, and not all the members of a class stand on the same altruistic plane. Genuine or pure love of men sympathizes not only with their sorrows but also with their joys; whereas impure altruism mixed with the competitive or predatory spirit is secretly displeased with other people's happiness or success and is aroused to action only by their misfortunes, particularly by such as throw them out of the ranks of competitors for the prominent or privileged positions and relegate them to the rank of social cripples, failures, recipients of favors or charity, that is, to the ranks of the defeated, disinherited, exploitable.

Acquired and Inherited Altruism.

If scientists, instead of quarreling over the inheritance and non-inheritance of acquired characters, would first stop to define what they understand by acquired character, they would save a good deal of useless and hence interminable dispute. If they understand by acquired character such a character as is entirely new, entirely different from inherited characters, it is very doubtful if there are such ones, for the existence of such traits would imply a creation *ex nihilo*. If the loss of an organ, or of a function, due to external action, is considered an acquired character, (disease, mutilation, circumcision, castration), this loss is either of vital, radical, fundamental importance for the organism, or it is merely of secondary importance. In the first case the organism dies or loses its reproductive power, hence it cannot leave progeny and thus transmit such a mutilation. In the second case, the organ or function being merely an off-shoot of the basal functions, of the trunk of vital energy, it follows that such ramified or derivative functions are destroyed *in esse* or actually but not *in posse* or potentially, hence the mutilations of such functions or organs cannot be inherited. If, how-

ever, we confine the name of acquired characters to such as are grafted upon, or developed and derived from, or are a modification of, hereditary characters; it is obvious that such characters cannot so easily become hereditary, since they are usually imposed from without, whereas heredity and spontaneity work from within outward, from the root or bottom upwards, from the germ plasm towards the soma (body.)

We see therefrom that the hope of socialism to change our selfish, parasitical, corrupt society into an unselfish, altruistic, honest, cooperative society would be a vain hope, indeed, if, fortunately, the predatory instincts were not confined to a small class of individuals, to the so-called leading and ruling class, and it would be an endless task if the only method of spreading altruism and justice consisted in teaching, preaching, suggesting, or grafting them upon egoism. All new characters which arise spontaneously from within, may become hereditary if they do not meet with obstacles in the physical and social environment. Thus, there arise kind-hearted children among the rich; but their kind-heartedness cannot thrive, because it is counteracted, opposed, discouraged by the examples, teachings, suggestions, disapprobation of parents, relatives, friends, retainers, acquaintances. Here and there selfish, rapacious individuals arise in the midst of the working class; but the spread of self-seeking and of parasitism among the poor is counteracted from two opposite directions: from the rich, employers, exploiters, who have no use for many such individuals, a few being enough to help them exploit, slave-drive and spy upon an army of workers; and from the poor class itself which is much too much robbed by the rich to have anything left for, or to have patience with, able-bodied domestic parasites. Nor have the poor parasites any opportunity of preying with impunity upon the rich who are too well protected and not so easily approachable. The rich do not mind any additional egoist or parasites belonging to their own class, for such parasites usually prey upon or increase the burden of the poor masses and cannot possibly prey upon their own class.

Parental Love and Altruism.

That association is an important condition for the genesis of sympathy or of altruism, can be inferred backwards from the decrease in love or friendship caused by a dissociation or separation of the lovers, friends, . . . ("Loin des yeux, loin du coeur.") Actual feelings, sentiments, affections are potential or incipient actions, i. e., they are the psychical causes of voluntary actions; and actions, in their turn, act back upon the feelings, intensifying them, enriching them with new related feelings, and with new cognitive experiences. New actual actions are potential feelings. If you repress the actions, the feelings will stagnate and evaporate sooner or later if they are not very intense; or they will find new, roundabout directions to express themselves if they are too intense. Feeling is the analogue of water pressure, or the potential energy of a river. Human action is the analogue of the actual flowing or motion of, and of the motion produced by, the river. The love of the rich for their children is as a rule not as great as that of the poor working people for theirs, not only because the rich are mostly selfish by nature but also because their feelings do not express themselves in actions in behalf of their children, these actions being taken over by nurses, governesses and servants. Whereas the love of the poor for their progeny is increased by the many tiresome actions in behalf of the latter, for there is nobody to relieve the poor of the heavy parental work incumbent upon them.

Maternal love arose from the feeling of animal females that their brood is part and parcel of themselves, of their own bodies. And this feeling of identity or continuity with her little ones expresses itself in the animal female in doing for them exactly what she would do for herself when hungry, cold, pursued, driven into a corner, etc. These actions or expressions of maternal love were at first rather playful or unnecessary as the newly born at the bottom of the animal scale come into the world well-armed with clearly defined nutritive and self-preservative instincts. As a result of these maternal actions performed in behalf of the little ones their nutritive and self-preservative instincts become weakened, so that the maternal cares which were originally superfluous, mere play movements, or by-products, due to a surplus of energy, became in time necessary, ever more indispensable, with the increasing helplessness of the newly-born and with the consequent lengthening of the period of infancy or of learning. The physiological connection between father and progeny being less obvious, the genesis of paternal altruism is naturally more recent and still going on under our own eyes. Few fathers have an instinctive love for children, or, more correctly (since men inherit not only paternal but also maternal traits, not only masculine but also feminine characters), few men have the parental instincts as strongly developed and as sharply defined as is the case with women. But our family life, especially among the poor, compels the father to live together with his children, and to help the mother in caring, nursing, dressing them, etc.; and we see his love for his children increasing in proportion with the number of actions he performs in their behalf, in proportion to the closeness of contact between father and progeny. Whereas in rich fathers who are relieved by nurses of the care of their children, the love of children, if they have any, is rather due to a surplus of emotional energy. Originally, a surplus of energy induced the female—and sometimes the male, too—to perform various actions in behalf of the offspring. These actions strengthened and enriched the feelings of parental love, and in course of time became instinctive organic needs. With the onset of adolescence, however, when the sexual instinct begins to assert itself, the offspring begins to go its own way, to look for mates. This search for a mate compels the adult animal to shift for itself, to forego the company and parental cares of the mother. But with this cessation of the parental cares, that is, of the nursing and other actions performed in behalf of the adult offspring, the animal mother, in whom action and feeling are indissolubly connected, becomes estranged from, and very often hostile to, her own progeny. Human life being more complicated, feeling being better differentiated in men than in animals from volition and action, the bonds between parents and children being not only physiological but also psychological, economic, social; we understand why among men, as a rule, parental love does not dry up after the cessation of the elementary parental cares (nursing, feeding, dressing, bathing, amusing, etc.), for it finds so many other channels of discharge; nay, in many men and women parental love is no longer confined to their own children, but has evolved into collective parental altruism or love for all children, the living as well as the yet unborn.

Love is for the souls of children what sunshine and fresh air is for their bodies. The former is just as essential to their mental and moral development as the latter is to their bodily development. Nay, even mature individuals may wilt morally if deprived of the warmth of human affection, sympathy or love. This is a lesson constantly taught in unmistakable language by human and animal experience.

Only psycho-analysts and behaviorists, desirous of notoriety or of glorifying their own parental shortcomings, choose to remain blind to irrefutable facts and join hands in tabooing all demonstrations of tenderness or love in the relations between parents and children, on the absurd plea that love causes hysteria, mental instability, infantilism, and what not. This accusation is true of love run amuck, that is, of excessive coddling or pampering. But to condemn all demonstrations of love on the ground that excessive indulgence therein is harmful, is obviously absurd; for by the same logic everything men feel, think, do or pursue could be condemned or tabooed, as everything may be carried to excess or extremes and hence become harmful. Moreover, the apotheosizers of egoism and detractors of altruism forget that excessive indulgence in love or in anything else is not a cause but an effect of mental dis-equilibrium.

Altruistic and Sexual Love.

Living together, association, is a condition for common experiences, for the arising of common interests, for an increasing number of psychical points of contact, hence a condition for the genesis of love and of morality, that is, regard for each other's interests. Association, symbiosis, is a favorable condition for the genesis of friendship, love; but not of idealization, divinization, phantomatic, or platonic love. Under our present economic conditions, sexual love which is mostly built upon illusions, brings men and women into closer contact, into more intimate association than is compatible with mutual idealization and with the preservation of individuality. But the common experiences and aims resulting from living and struggling together give rise to friendship which compensates for, and gradually supersedes, the imaginary ties created by a phantomatic sexual love and quickly dissolved in the light of too close an acquaintance. Among rich couples divorces are more frequent, for husband and wife are not held together by economic interests, do not share daily joys and sorrows to such an extent, and do not live in such intimate, unconstrained, frank, natural relations, or close contact, as do the poor. The illusions which enshroud sexual love being dispelled upon closer acquaintance, and there being no economic and friendship or parental ties formed to serve as substitutes for the vanishing ties of platonic love; divorce, separation, unfaithfulness, enmity, are the natural consequences. The so-called society life with its conventionalities, formalities, vain ambitions and deceitful, hypocritical, artificial atmosphere, gives to rich husbands and wives little opportunity for being alone together, for coming into close contact, for sharing in each other's innermost thoughts, feelings and desires, hence for getting attached to each other, for becoming life companions like the couples belonging to the so-called lower and middle social classes.

Why Genuine Altruism is Found Particularly Among the Ruled, Exploited, Working Class.

The perception of movements, of actions, leads to the performance of the same movements or actions, especially if it is reinforced, or at least not contradicted, by other states of mind, by natural impulses. Thus a child of a well-to-do family, without any knowledge of the poor man's bitter sufferings, would nevertheless help the latter, if it would see its beloved teachers or parents do the same; and in maturer age when it knows life better, it would continue to act out of altruism as it acted before out of mere imitation. Conscious action is always

determined or caused by feeling. Only in imitated action is the feeling aroused by the agent imitated; whereas in natural action the feeling is aroused by the person or object acted upon. Action, feeling, and cognition (perception, image, idea) are inseparably connected and mutually dependent in consciousness. In reflex action, cognition and feeling are reduced to a minimum; cognition is merely subconscious or subliminal. In instinctive action, cognition is conscious, but plays a purely subordinate or theoretical part. In voluntary action, cognition exerts a controlling or guiding influence. Feelings and actions towards persons and objects vary according to our ideas about the latter; and vice versa. If our ideas are adequate, objective, correct, then our feelings and actions will also be adequate, objective, correct, purposeful. (I do not understand why psychologists reserve the qualification of *objective* only for presentations, representations, ideas; whereas feelings are considered by them as wholly subjective, as having nothing to do with the objects.) Thus the rich who are brought up on wrong notions about the mental constitutions of the poor; who are brought up to see in the poor mere tools, low creatures, with no refined needs, deprived of nobler sentiments, naturally destined to a life of toil and want—such rich people, I say, feel and act selfishly and cruelly towards the poor, even if they are naturally unselfish and good. And vice versa: if we are brought up to hate, to feel repulsion for, a certain class of objects or persons, these feelings will influence and bias our subsequently acquired knowledge about that class of objects or persons, unless we are too open-eyed to be misled by feelings due to early education and to early uncritical imitation. We see, therefore, that, as a rule, he who has no adequate knowledge about his fellow men is unable to feel and to act altruistically, morally; and vice versa: the selfish, the cruel, egomaniacs are unable to acquire objective knowledge about men. I do not mean to say with Socrates that it is enough to know what is good or moral in order to practice it. I only say that knowledge of the moral tends to awaken moral feelings, and these feelings tend to compel moral action, if they are not counteracted or driven out of consciousness by the knowledge of external obstacles, by the knowledge of ungratified imperious needs, by the knowledge of an irreconcilable conflict between selfish and unselfish impulses. He who has less selfishness, or less imperiously selfish pursuits, he who is not overanxious to enjoy material comfort and to gratify his vain or morbid self-love, is more accessible to moral and altrusitic teaching, is more likely to pay attention to his naturally arising and to suggested altruistic thoughts, and hence to put these into practice. The greedy rich man and the self-seeking vain scholar are too much engrossed with their selfish pursuits to think of others as ends-in-themselves, to allow any altruistic feelings to take hold of their consciousness. Moreover, anything done for others who are not in a position to give at least an equal amount in exchange, would mean a positive loss for the greedy, the vain, the fame-seekers.

If the poor are more altruistic, more disinterested, than the rich, it is not because the former are more in need of altruism. (What they need badly is a little more sense, and still so many of them remain fools. Moreover, the majority of the poor do not demand anything more than steady work, freedom from exploitation, justice, fair compensation for their work. It is not the poor, the working-men, the trade unions, the socialists, who preach charity, altruism; it is the rich, the ruling class and their salaried employees in the form of priests, preachers, legislators, etc.). It is merely because the poor are recruited from

among those who are not greedy, not averse to labor, nor over-selfish; who do not value wealth and power above the other human pursuits; who are not diplomatically, systematically, and steadily parasitical and hypocritical. Altruism arises spontaneously and finds among the poor quicker response than among the rich, because the hearts and minds of the poor oppose less obstacles (arising from ignorance of the needy, from preconceived opinions about and preconceived feelings towards them, from excessive selfishness, etc.) to its growth than those of the rich and of the vain, especially of the would-be rich and of the would-be popular, or socially prominent; because the energy of the poor—paradoxical though it may sound—is not entirely absorbed by self-adoration and by a morbidly excessive instinct of self-preservation. The poor man, either naturally or owing to the compulsion exerted by exploiters, does not pay much attention to his bodily needs and comforts, so that there is left in him a relative surplus of emotional energy, which either runs to waste or seeks a new channel of discharge in altruism. Thinking less of himself, the poor man can think more of others. Needing so little for himself, he can do more for others, Having less material needs to preoccupy his mind, he finds time to concern himself with the needs of others; whereas the rich have so many material wants and vain pursuits that they are never quite sure of being always able to satisfy them, and therefore do not feel disposed to concern themselves with other people's troubles. To express the above explanation briefly, at the risk of making it appear tautological, we may say that the poor are more altruistic than the rich because they are less selfish, less greedy, less devoured with ambition.

The gentleness or kindness of the rich moral philistines who are ignorant of and free from life's struggles, is not a real, active, socially useful kindheartedness: it is rather an apparent, illusory, passive kindheartedness, due to the fact that their inborn aggressiveness, greed, selfishness, self-conceit, tyrannizing propensities remain dormant in consequence of being anticipatingly, prematurely, excessively gratified; just as the progeny of captured wild beasts become apparently tame as long as men supply them regularly with food, and thus save them from the irritating pangs of hunger. Genuine, active, socially useful altruism is found mainly among the poor who, while being tortured by their own cares, worries, and uncertainties, make room in their hearts for those of others. Capitalistic history, of course, ignores the names and existence of such genuine altruists. Not those who without the flourish of trumpets give away what they need themselves and what they have earned in the sweat of their brow, but those who give away what they cannot use and what does not belong to them anyhow, are being immortalized in history, in the press, in monuments. Not the virtuous washwoman who prefers the miserable but honest life of health-destroying hard work to the easy, luxurious life of flirts, but the empty-minded society woman who displays some imitation of virtue or of philanthropy gets all the praise and credit. The parvenu, the self-seeker, the human beast of prey, is hard-hearted, not because he does not know or understand the sufferings and wants of others (for how could he exploit them if he were ignorant of their evil plight?), but because his own insatiable wants irritate and preoccupy him. If the progeny of the parvenu are passively hard-hearted, although they are not irritated by any ungratified wants, it is partly because they do not understand human miseries; and if they lend their cooperation to sham philanthropic movements, they do it out of vanity, from the need of some sort of occupation, from a craving for notoriety, and at

best under the pressure of suggestion or of fashion. At any rate, their philanthropy is of no social usefulness whatsoever. For to truly sympathize with others, to share actively others' joys and sorrows, to work understandingly and efficiently towards the uplifting of the poor, one must have been poor. Or, rather, one must still be poor, but so meek and so modest, or so absorbed in higher pursuits, as to remain immune from the poisoning sting of hunger, privations, suppressed wants.

(*a''*) Voluntary Causes of Morality.

Feeling or emotion determines bodily movements or action; and, vice versa, bodily movements or changes awaken corresponding feelings. To speak more generally, psycho-physiological processes are reversible or the influence between mind and body is reciprocal. The quarrel between the upholders of the so-called James-Lange theory of emotions and the upholders of the opposite theory is just as foolish as the anecdotal quarrel between the two yokels over the color of a certain knight's shield, each claiming that the color of the shield was the one he saw from his position, while in reality the two sides of the shield were differently colored, which could have been easily ascertained by exchanging positions or by seeking a position from which both sides could be seen at the same time. If our quarreling psychologists were more concerned with truth than with their dear conceited selves or the desire for victory, they could easily see that if emotions cause visceral and other bodily disturbances, it is equally true that bodily disturbances of a purely physiological origin may arouse emotions. Thus if anxiety causes palpitation of the heart, it also happens that palpitation of the heart of a purely physiological origin causes anxiety. In the former case the emotion is objective, and in the latter subjective. Objective emotions and feelings cause not only inner bodily movements but also outer movements or muscular action, whose object it is to remove the cause of the painful emotion and retain or intensify the cause of the pleasurable emotion.

What has been said above about the James-Lange theory of emotions holds also of its generalized version advocated by the self-styled "hormic" psychologist, William MacDougal, under the caption "Does feeling initiate striving? Or is feeling secondary to striving?"—one of those idle, academic pseudo-problems raising artificial, non-existent issues by making implicit false assumptions. The assumption implied in this particular pseudo-problem is that the two sequences, feeling-striving and striving-feeling, are mutually exclusive. The absurdity of this assumption is easily revealed in the light of the cyclical or reversible nature of our psycho-physiological processes.

There are two kinds of behavior or acting: (1) The natural or spontaneous, which is the immediate result of emotion or feeling; and (2) the un-natural, voluntary, compulsory, which is the result of reasoning or of imitation through the intermediation of suggested or auto-suggested sentiments. Thus, if I help others out of sympathy, I act naturally, spontaneously. If I help others or give to others what is due to them because the law, or custom, requires it, I act un-naturally, I act out of fear, shame, etc. In the latter case I must observe how others act in order to imitate them. Or I must imagine that the person whom I must help is either myself or a beloved person, or a person who will reciprocate my assistance, in order to arouse thus in myself the feelings which will lead me naturally to action.

Now, if the psycho-physiological processes are reversible, i. e., if feeling and thinking tend to expression and action, and vice versa, if expression and action tend to awaken feelings and thoughts, we understand how moral feelings can be the outcome or the product of socially useful action due to education, imitation, suggestion, to the necessity of living together with our fellow men. The resulting moral sentiments, from mere suggested causes or mere effects and unintentioned, spontaneous accompaniments of imitated, compulsory, selfish actions, become, in virtue of the law of substitution of motives and values, genuine causes which impel us to repeat naturally the same socially useful actions, nay, more, to improve upon them.

Origin and Growth of Justice.

Justice is the result and condition of gregarious life; it is in its simplest form a mere matter of action and reaction between men such as the repayment of evil with evil, of kindness with kindness, of tolerance with tolerance. Experience teaches that, as a rule, (excepting a minority of cunning and parasitic individuals who are responsible for the existence of exploitation, of warfare, of various frank and masked forms of slavery) our fellow-men with whom we live together act towards each other as they are acted upon; they never attack unless they are provoked by their victims or by dire necessity, or unless they are incited thereto and deceived as to the real intentions of others by criminal or unscrupulous leaders. Action and reaction in human intercourse are equal and opposite in direction only between honest and open-eyed men. The psychical source of the visible, physical, muscular action being hidden from view, our reaction varies according to the correctness or illusoriness of our appreciation of the hidden intentions and motives giving birth to the visible action. If crooked, crafty individuals are more successful than honest men, it is because the passively honest masses are unable to discriminate between the seemingly kind and humane actions of the former and the really disinterested actions of the honest; it is because the former take good care to put themselves in a favorable light so as to hide their true intentions and the dark, ugly side of their actions.

Justice and social virtues form a system of ethico-juridical theorems based ultimately upon the ethical axiom: "Act towards your fellow men as you expect them to react upon you." "Respect others' property that they may respect yours," or "Suum cuique" is the essential ethical theorem based upon the ethical axiom.

Justice extends gradually its sphere of application from a small group of kinsmen, acquaintances, customers, clients, co-religionists, etc., to an ever growing group of mere fellow-men, strangers, aliens, even to animals, provided these are useful to men, or at least harmless. Justice has its origin in the instinct of self-preservation guided by reason. Altruism arises spontaneously from a surplus of emotional energy left in consequence of greater security resulting from gregarious life. Reason being especially a human attribute, while feelings being also spiritual possessions of animals, we understand why in animals altruism, cooperation, solidarity, mutual aid, is more developed than the sense of justice. Justice and altruism, which spring from two different sources, remain two distinct, independent, parallel working social forces, until in a morally advanced age they begin to converge, and finally fuse into altruistic justice or reasonable altruism. Justice, from passive, private, conservative, punitive, confined to

appearances, to rough and visible human activities, becomes an active, socialized, progressive, corrective, preventive, constructive justice, busying itself with realities, with the subtle and invisible or hidden forms of human activity; from the mere preservative of an artificial order, of a social equilibrium threatening to break down in the absence of militarism and of police force, it goes over to the establishment of a natural, solid order or stable equilibrium which is inherent in the conditions of human society and which is not in need of rotting external props. The growth of justice consists also in removing, not only artificial or arbitrary inequalities, but also artificial, nominal, arbitrary equalizations which are just as cruel and anti-social as the former. To take a single example of such an artificial, apparent equality: the railroad and street car fares are the same for the rich and the poor, for the employed and the unemployed, for those to whom a dollar does not mean anything and for those to whom it means a fortune. The fact that punitive justice or the repayment of evil with evil has, by a tacit common agreement, been taken out of the hands of the litigants and transferred to society, while gratitude or the repayment of kindness with kindness is still a private affair, except when the whole group is the immediate beneficiary thereof, proves that men are more prone to overstep the limits in their reaction to malice than in their reaction to kindness and that they are more prone to persist in their vindictiveness than in their grateful attitude.

Justice is the skeleton that supports the social organism with its various organs. As the latter is still growing, increasing both in size and in weight, the moral skeleton must grow too, not only in size but also in strength: from soft, flexible, fragile (corruptible) it grows rigid, impartial, ossified, the centers of ossification being formed by the teachings and preachings of moral geniuses.

(b) INDIRECT CAUSES OF MORALITY.

(*b'*) Intelligence and Morality.

The primary conscious function of human intelligence, and of intelligence in general, was to compensate for bodily and muscular inefficiency in the struggle against nature, against other animals and against competitors. The weapon *par excellence* of the weak, solitary, and not very fecund animals, is cunningness, craftiness, ruse, concealment, deceitfulness. Primitive man was inferior to his animal cousins in muscular skill and strength, but he was the most cunning animal. The persistent, disinterested pursuit of knowledge, although rooted in curiosity which is an elemental attribute of all intelligent animals, is a recently acquired function of human intelligence, and hence the privilege of a select minority. The average and pseudo-superior men pursue knowledge only in so far as it brings them material advantages. We understand, therefore, why most of our modern intellectual men, especially the semi-educated, are first of all inclined to use their intelligence as an instrument of deception, exploitation, egoism, immorality; nay, more, they consider their school education and their little intellectual superiority as a title to sinecures, idleness, parasitism, despotic leadership. Probably Rousseau had this kind of intellectual man in mind when he wrote "L'homme qui pense est un animal deprave". But when he idealized the primitive man and defended the thesis that civilization corrupts men, he certainly mistook the effect for one of the causes. The truth is that so far, unfortunately, the corrupt, the morally lax individuals have been conspicuous among the carriers of civiliza-

tion whenever it promised them glory or could be turned to their personal advantage. It seems strange to us civilized men that some savage tribes frankly admire liars, thieves, cunning individuals; but we fail to see that we too worship only the immoral uses of intelligence when we bestow our admiration upon material success, wealth, social prominence, the commercial spirit, legal and commercial stratagems or *finesse*, diplomacy, conventional lies, and when we bestow our admiration upon the pseudo-intellectuals who receive compensations out of all proportion to their apparent rather than real services.

The masses, the philistines, are too stupid, or too ignorant, or too ill-informed to be successfully immoral; the pseudo-superior men have just enough intelligence to use it for selfish, parasitical and immoral purposes; the geniuses or genuinely superior men alone love knowledge too much for its own sake to degrade it to such low and primitive functions of which even animals may be capable.

Intelligence is only an indirect source of morality, by setting new aims of life. If intelligence and morality were correlated, we could not understand why some classes of animals are more solidary, better endowed with conjugal and social affection than men; why some uncivilized tribes are on a higher moral level than we civilized men; why the ignorant, average men act more disinterestedly and honestly than we of the intellectual class; why the intellectually inferior colored races stand morally much higher than the white race, and why the most beastly or black-hearted human specimens are found among the whites (fortunately, however, among the least intellectual elements of the latter).

The intelligent men, as a rule, use their little intellectual ability for exploiting the simple-minded, the honest, the good-natured, the vain, and thus discourage the latter, making them regret their honest, friendly, or disinterested actions. They promote or found charitable, academical, ethical institutions, congregations, secret societies, clubs, etc., or try to get leading influence over such institutions originally founded by ideal, disinterested, altruistic men; but they do this with the secret intention of transforming these institutions into sources of undeserved honors, power, material gain for themselves and their accomplices. In their hands, the educational, religious, economic, philanthropic institutions started by moral reformers become inefficient, untrue to their original aim, and degenerate into corrupting, parasitical, burdensome, and energy-absorbing social excrescences; whereas in the hands of philistines the same institutions would have degenerated merely into superstitious, lifeless, meaningless, and fossilized forms, practices, rites, customs, beliefs.

If the majority of fairly intelligent men make an immoral, anti-social use of their intelligence, it does not follow conversely that the majority of dishonest people are intelligent, i. e., it does not follow that intelligence is necessarily correlated with immorality. It is not because of superior intelligence or richer experience that he bluffer, the parasite, or predatory individual is suspicious of others, distrustful, reticent, secretive, and hides his poverty, ignorance, foibles, urgent needs, disadvantages, troubles, and tries to pose as rich, influential, well-informed, free from urgent needs, etc. He hides his weaknesses, troubles, humble or alien origin, poverty, because and only when he has to deal with men of his own type who shun those in need of help, are always on the alert to take advantage of others' weaknesses or distress, and look upon strangers, aliens, workers, the poor as their legitimate prey; he hides his poverty because he himself despises it,

regards it as a sign of inability to cheat others, and is therefore ashamed thereof; if he happens to meet honest, kind-hearted people, he does not conceal his worries and troubles: on the contrary, he exaggerates them and poses as a victim of the modern exploitation system in order to arouse and exploit the pity of his sympathizers. If the honest man does not make any secret of his loneliness, poverty, friendlessness, defenselessness, thus giving himself away as an easy prey into the hands of exploiters; it is not always because of naivete, stupidity, blind confidence in men: he does it because he cannot help judging others by himself, because he cannot act against his inborn sincerity, because he prefers to take the risk of being afterward shunned, exploited and black-mailed rather than despise himself for having been an impostor, because he is not ashamed of and does not feel responsible for his poverty, and is willing to correct his defects, or because he is too sociable and not enough of a philosopher to retire from the company of men when circumstances do not enable him to hunt up congenial people. No amount of intelligence and of bad experience gained in the practice of sincerity will change a sincere man into an accomplished, infallible bluffer; it will rather make him shun the company of the bluffers, fight and expose them, refuse to have any business with them, or, if compelled to deal with them, openly distrust them and not take their word or promises for cash-value.

If honesty has become associated in the minds of men with stupidity, it is due to the fact that under the present regime the honest man, as a rule, is financially unsuccessful, and financial success is taken as a criterion of ability. The predatory philistines and the mercenary, parasitical pseudo-superior men, who look down upon the honest proletarian philistines and genuinely superior men as fools, start from the false premise that all men are exclusively, primarily preoccupied with the advancement of their material, personal interests, and logically conclude therefrom that all those who do not succeed lack understanding for the game of life or are unable to look into the souls of schemers. As a matter of fact, however, the honest proletarian philistine is no more stupid than the predatory philistine. He simply lacks understanding for the latter's crooked ways, just as the latter is lamentably stupid in the honest man's ways and can not understand how anybody can pursue any other aim in life besides money-making. Whereas the genuinely superior man, although naturally confident like the proletarian philistine, becomes pretty soon worldly-wise, that is, he learns to be up to the tricks of the predatory philistines and of the pseudo-superior men; only, he is too polite, too considerate, and often afraid to let them know that he sees through their underhand schemes. The dishonest man considers himself intelligent because he succeeds in fooling honest people, as if it were such a difficult feat to repay confidence with treachery. It does not occur to him that even children can and do practice deception upon grown-ups, whom they regard as fools on account of their credulity. The bluffer childishly prides himself upon the sincere man's inability to look into his soul, forgetting that he himself is still less able to understand the latter's thoughts, feelings and motives; just as children who invent a secret language, feel themselves superior to their elders who are unable to understand it, forgetting that the latter, too, could easily invent another secret language which they, in turn, would be unable to decipher.

To talk about the correlation between intelligence and character or morality is just as absurd as to talk about the correlation between a tool and the artisan using the same, for intelligence (together with the knowledge, experience and

skill acquired by means thereof) is nothing but a tool pressed into the service of the dominant human instincts, interests, desires, regardless of their moral or immoral character. Intelligent individuals and peoples will be intelligently moral (productive, constructive, peaceful, altruistically co-operative or solidary) or intelligently immoral (destructive, predatory, pugnacious, wolfishly solidary), according as the one of the other set of instincts predominates in their mental make-up. If the same individual can not be both intelligently honest and intelligently crooked at the same time because only one set of instincts can dominate at a time and hence press his Intellect into its service, a collectivity (tribe, nation, race) can be both intelligently predatory or bellicose and intellectually and morally progressive at the same time for the simple reason that the predatory and the creative or cultural function are performed by two different social sets or classes or mental types working at cross-purposes: the adventurers, pioneers, warriors, merchants, financiers, rulers or statesmen using their inherited intelligence and intellectual social heritage for the former purpose, and the intellectuals (scientists, philosophers, poets, artists, genuine missionaries, reformers) using theirs for the latter purpose. The predatory type uses collectively just as much intelligence for the selfish pursuit of material possessions and for the invention of most ingenious sophistries in justification of this nefarious business as the creative type uses for the noble pursuit of generally useful and uplifting spiritual possessions. Hence, while there is a grain of truth in the claim raised by capitalistic anthropologists that the bellicose tribes are more progressive than the peaceful ones, this claim is utterly false and misleading in its insinuation or implication that predacity or pugnacity and progressiveness are mutually dependent and inseparable. The truth is that the predatory classes of the more progressive white race are more barbarous, more benighted than the less progressive and more peaceful colored races; nay, they are a constant menace to progress and civilization, whose slowly and painfully acquired achievements are often undone by them. If their respective nations manage to recover from these set-backs and to make some advance, it is not because of them but in spite of their opposition to, interference with, and persecution of their progressive, peaceful, constructive, creative nationals, whose cultural achievements they like to boast of, as if they themselves had had a share therein, and to adduce as a justification for their pitiless exploitation, demoralization and final extermination of the intellectually less advanced but morally superior and potentially more useful races.

Exploitation or parasitism compels the poor to work harder, longer and for a smaller remuneration than is compatible with a healthy, harmonious, self-respecting and intellectual life; so that even honest intellectual individuals, who would be willing to earn a living by manual or other socially useful work, are driven into more remunerative parasitical or semi-parasitical occupations where, of course, they are crushed out of existence, or, at best, driven to the wall, i. e., into the less remunerative and less respected parasitical occupations, or into subordinate positions by intellectual individuals in whom parasitism and dishonesty or freedom from moral scruples are inborn, natural. Owing to the abnormal conditions prevailing under our exploiting or spoliation system, economic parasitism and intellectuality seem necessarily correlated. As a matter of fact, it is just as little necessary to be a parasite in order to pursue intellectual ends, as it is necessary for men to devote their entire time and energy to the securing of food, shelter and clothing. Mother Earth does not require uninterrupted culti-

vation in order to yield food; our clothes and shelters need not be made anew or repaired every day; our bodily needs need not be satisfied every minute, but only at more or less long periods. It is only the intellectual needs that admit of and require prolonged, frequent attention or ministration, without entailing thereby any harm to either individuals or communities. On the contrary, intellectual pursuits are the only ones which, when persistently adhered to, ennoble and uplift their adherents while benefiting at the same time mankind as a whole. From the fact that under our present spoliation regime intellectuality goes more often than not together with parasitism or immorality, it does not follow that this correlation is immutable as the great sociologist Lester Ward seems to believe. It is true that exceptions confirm the rule; but it is also true that the exception may become the rule, and vice versa. The few cases of sane and balanced geniuses and of unparasitical (honest) intellectual men, which are met with under the unpropitious conditions of our unfairly competitive system, are the best proof that there is no inherent incompatibility between intelligence and morality, between genius and sanity or mental equilibrium. And if, on the other hand, our capitalistic criminologists, sociologists, juvenile court psychologists make so much fuss about their discovery of mental obtuseness, stupidity, feeble-mindedness, insanity in delinquents, criminals, prostitutes, it does not prove in the least that there is any causal nexus between crime and mental defect. It merely proves that this kind of delinquents are the only ones that get caught, the only ones that capital-controlled policemen, detectives, judges, pseudo-scientists, politicians dare to imprison, pack into asylums, exploit, experiment upon, and take liberties with; whereas the brainy, sane, cautious, rich, influential, disguised delinquents and prostitutes escape detection, are honored, and sit in judgment upon their disowned poorer relatives.

(*b''*) Science, Art, Religion, Philosophy, Psychology as Factors of Morality

Science, art and religion in its metaphysical aspect, contribute indirectly or passively towards moral progress, towards social happiness. For the search after truth and beauty diverts the stream of human energy from the bottomless mires of sexual and economic greediness, idleness, vanity, social prejudices, which are the main psychical or individual sources of immoral action, moral decay.

The cultivation of truth and beauty, that is, the disinterested and non-specialized cultivation of Art, Literature, Science and Philosophy, brings men nearer to each other; it paves the way for mutual good will and friendship even between men who have no common economic interests, no common acquaintances and experiences. Only few men can be neighbors and have in common the same unique, particular experiences, the same religious beliefs or rather superstitions, or be interested in the same kind of gossip; but all normal men may be brought up to share in the pursuit of the same eternal truths, in the meditation upon the same vital problems, in the enjoyment of the same beauties of Nature, in the cherishing of the same hopes for the progress of the human species.

Scientific, artistic, intellectual pursuits, unlike the pursuit of power, popularity, external or material possessions, can be shared by any number of men without any detriment to, nay, to the greatest profit of, every single individual. Moreover, he who devotes himself to intellectual pursuits, is thereby preserved against excessive and hence anti-social materialistic, predatory, sensual or vain pursuits.

Liberal studies (literature, linguistics, philosophy, anthropology, etc.), which do not pretend to be of practical use or instrumental in increasing human comfort, wealth, material goods, are by far more valuable as moralizing, civilizing, mind and heart refining, health and happiness promoting agencies than the so-called useful, practical, vocational studies (law, medicine, engineering, etc.), whose usefulness to industry, commerce, agriculture, sanitation is largely fictitious and vastly exaggerated in order to lend dignity and serve as a cloak to sordid business, politics, and the bluff and rapacity going therewith.

Scientific education, scientific training and pursuits, beget the habit of truth-seeking in intellectual, abstract, impersonal matters, which habit is more or less carried over to economic, concrete, personal matters. The born liar, the born self-seeker, the born parasite, if he happens to have intellectual ability and to use it for scientific purposes, will be more or less diverted by his scientific pursuits from dishonest economic pursuits. He will become more hesitating and hence more easily detectable in telling lies, in using unfair means. The habit of dealing honestly with facts will influence to some extent his dealings with men. He will, of course, succeed better than his naturally fair-minded, ideal scientific and philosophic confreres in his profession, in securing a scholarship, a fellowship, a professorship, popularity, and wealth. He will pitilessly drive the latter out of the field whenever they compete for the same honors or position, and will unscrupulously rob them of their intellectual property if there is no danger of being detected. He will not shrink from distorting, adulterating, and suppressing truth, if it is necessary for his success. He will be an educational politician and will push himself up to administrative positions. He will be a terrible oppressor and exploiter of his poor, ideal, scientific confreres. And yet he will be less dangerous to mankind as a whole, and he will be comparatively a morally better man than if he had used his intellectual ability for business or political, that is, parasitical purposes. Nay, more, he may become useful to mankind, he may become a champion of ethical progress, if his self-interest is also furthered thereby.

Art, in its juvenile, romantic, defensive stage, makes men disgusted with, and offers them the realm of Imagination as an escape from, the sordid everyday life, the realm of sensation and perception where much evil (ugliness, misery, suffering, oppression, restraint, disappointment, disharmony, warfare, falsehood, hypocrisy, etc.) is mixed with a little good (beauty, happiness, joy, freedom, fulfillment, harmony, peace, truth, sincerity, etc.). In its maturer, constructive, aggressive, militant stage, Art stimulates men to remodel the real world upon the ideal world of its own dreams where the proportion of good and evil is reversed, a maximum of good being mixed with an irreducible minimum of evil.

Religion (the belief in and worship of a deity or deities, the belief in souls or spirits and in their immortality, etc.), springs from an hypertrophied instinct of self-preservation; from human conceit and from fear of the unknown elemental forces of Nature; from the desire to understand the universe within which we live and our place therein accompanied by inability to extricate wish, imaginations, dreams, representations, fear-born hallucinations from reality or perceptions; from our subjective, anthropocentric, anthropomorphic, animistic, personifying conception of Nature and its manifold phenomena. Hence religion has two aspects: a practical-emotional aspect and an intellectual or metaphysical one. Those who seek in religion nothing but salvation, self or soul preservation, pro-

pitiation of deities, consolation, supernatural protection, are not moral in the true sense of the word. Their morality is spurious, selfish, interested; it is a business morality of the type "do ut des". Nor are they truly religious or religiously progressive, but rather superstitious. Only those who seek in religion the gratification of their cosmic sentiments or emotional-metaphysical needs, can be moral in the true sense of the word and are truly religious or religiously progressive and liberal.

It is true that the various forms of religion or of subjective, anthropomorphic, mystical world conceptions are nothing but by-paths or blind alleys which at various stages of mental progress lure the weary wanderers in search of truth away from the straight, sane, broad interminable road of objective knowledge by promising them a halting place, a short-cut to final truth, but in reality leading to mental stagnation and often to mental confusion and disequilibration; still it must be conceded that metaphysical religion stimulates men's minds to a certain extent to grow morally upwards away from the low regions of mere animal pursuits, thus contributing indirectly or passively to the mitigation of their predatory proclivities.

Religion, like all mysticism, seeks shortcuts, a royal road to knowledge, safety, health and prosperity; endless, eternal results from slight, momentary exertions; an infinite, perpetual, steady income from a small, occasional investment.

That religion is not necessarily, directly and actively bound up with morality, can be readily inferred from the fact that we meet with more moral (kind-hearted, just, tolerant) men among agnostics, atheists, truth and beauty seekers, scientists, philosophers and artists belonging to the materialistic school than among believers, church-goers, preachers, spiritualists; nay, more, we find more morality among certain species of animals than among men (among beavers, ants, bees, birds, for instance.)

It is true that of all the external sanctions of morality the religious sanction is the most powerful deterrent from evil-doing, because God—unlike the human guardians of law and order—is unescapable, owing to His supposed omnipresence and omniscience; but history and everyday life teach us that even this sanction—the religious commandments—is a poor substitute for conscience or the inner sanction (love of men and of justice), and can be easily perverted into an excuse for intolerance, cruelty, robbery, murder (the crusades, inquisition, religious wars, religious persecutions, rivalries, hatreds, prejudices, amply testify to the inadequacy of the religious deterrents from immorality or crime.)

Maybe the mainspring of the philistine's *will to believe* resides in the fact that he is dimly conscious of and inwardly dissatisfied with his incomplete, undeveloped, disharmonious, aborted mind and, therefore, cherishes an inarticulate longing for further mental development, if not during his earthly existence, then at least in a so-called hereafter, on a higher or spiritual plane of existence. Only religion—in some form or other, suited to his temperament and intellectual level—affords him consolation for his mental deficiency and promises him a chance for attaining perfection; while cold, matter-of-fact, impersonal science holds out such promises only for the species, for the future race of supermen, and refuses to cater to individual temperament, selfishness and conceit by endorsing such childish or rather philistine conceptions as those of deities, angels, spirits, paradise, immortality, higher planes of existence, etc. Nor does science let herself

be impressed by the boasted unique personal experiences, revealed, esoteric knowledge, communion with God, spiritual sense organs, perception of auras, etc., of religious mystics, but prefers to ascribe them either to deliberate humbug or to hallucination, self-delusion, mental inversion, auto-suggestion, synaesthesia, etc. One can choose one's religion, but one can not choose one's science; for Science or Truth is one while the deviations therefrom or approximations thereto (i. e., errors, illusions, aberrations, religions) are many.

The question whether ethics springs from Religion, or vice versa, is one of the many pseudo, formal and verbal problems of academic scholars. Ethics deals with human solidarity, whereas Religion deals with our concepts about and feelings toward the universe and its imaginary author and ruler. From the fact that originally, in more primitive times, one and the same ruler (priest, king, . . .) took into his hands the power of laying down religious, legislative, ethical, hygienic, and other rules, it does not follow that ethics, religion, politics, are causally connected. And from the fact that these powers were later gradually distributed among many rivals, owing to the growth of knowledge and to the increasing complexity of human society, it does not follow that this political order of distribution and ramification corresponds to any genetic order or evolutional ramification of human knowledge.

Morality can not have sprung from Religion for the very simple reason that morality is older than Religion. Morality is found among gregarious animals, whereas Religion did not make its appearance until men began to speculate about the elemental forces of Nature and about means and ways of propitiating the spirits who were supposed to wield them. No animal species, no animal group, could have survived without a certain amount of solidarity or mutual aid and affection between its members. Likewise, the first men could not have held their own against the wild beasts without a certain amount of mutual help and affection, but they could manage very well without religious speculations and feelings, an intellectual luxury whose development requires leisure and comparative security.

And just as ethical sentiments do not spring from religious beliefs or religious sentiments, just so is it absurd to look for a metaphysical foundation of ethics: Metaphysics is the climax of human knowledge and activity, and not its foundation; metaphysics is the ultimate synthesis and harmonization, the point of convergence of the various, seemingly divergent or parallel sciences and arts. From one's philosophical convictions we cannot so easily infer his moral status, nor his artistic-scientific inclinations. Philosophical romanticism, idealism or spiritualism, has nothing in common, except the name, with ethical idealism. On the contrary, most of the ethical idealists (lovers of justice, pioneers of a better social organization, altruists) are philosophical and scientific materialists or realists; and most of the philosophical and scientific idealists, spiritualists or romanticists are ethical materialists (egoists, hunters of pleasure and wordly success), although their materialism is not so coarse, brutal, and socially harmful as that of their non-philosophical confreres. The fact that moral geniuses are often met with among intellectual philistines, i. e., among men who have neither the ability nor the desire to rise to any general, philosophical world-conception, is a sufficient proof that there is no causal connection between ethics and philosophical or religious creeds. Nay, more, even within the ethical field itself, there is no necessary correlation between theory and practice: many preach ethics, but few prac-

tice it; many profess publicly—in the pulpit, on the platform, in books, in editorials—broadmindedness and broad-heartedness, but very few practice it.

But the priority of Ethics to Religion and Philosophy does not preclude a mutual influence between them. On the whole, we may say that predatory ethics goes together with a religion of dogmas and creed and with romantic, reality-shunning or spiritualistic philosophy, whereas socialistic or humanitarian ethics goes together with a religion of deeds and open-mindedness and with realistic or positive philosophy.

Even more than Science, realistic philosophy contributes indirectly towards moral uplift. Like Astronomy, realistic Philosophy is of more practical use than one would at first suppose. Just as to the philistine the stars and the study of their motions seem to have no or very little relation to daily life, for he does not know how indispensable Astronomy is to geography, surveying, navigation, chronology; just so does he fail to see that the philosophical speculations on such remote objects as the origin and destiny of mankind and the Universe, etc., exert a mighty ethical, sobering, solidarity and sanity promoting influence upon men in their everyday affairs, in their daily struggle for existence. By raising man above the narrow horizon of his daily life to a height from which he can embrace space stretching into infinity and the ages extending into eternity, realistic Philosophy shows him the inanity or futility of his petty ambitions, the baselessness and emptiness of his self-conceit and of his craving for self-aggrandizement, the ridiculousness of his hostilities, prejudices and quarrels with his fellowmen; it opens up before his mind's eye an endless perspective of loftier, nobler, undreamed-of aims of life; it teaches him the true relations and significance of men and things; it shows him how tyranny and hatred defeat their own ends by poisoning both the aggressor and the victim; it shows him how the harm inflicted on the exploited takes its vengeance, sooner or later, directly or indirectly, on the exploiters; it tends to broaden his heart, and to throw its gates open to human sympathy, by broadening his mind; it shows him the impossibility of fooling all the people all the time and of undetectedly passing on to posterity manufactured, chauvinistic history; it shows him that the only immortal part of men are their depersonalized, objective, disinterested, socially useful, original thoughts, feelings, spiritual influences, actions, achievements. In short, just as it is necessary to fix our gaze upon distant celestial bodies in order to find our way here below, on the surface of our little but to our limited view too intricate and seemingly unfathomable planet, just so is it necessary to fix our mind's eye upon the serene, lofty, remote goals of Philosophy in order to steer our tiny, frail boat in the turbulent nether regions in the midst of the petty, sordid but to us ephemeral mortals bewilderingly confusing everyday affairs, pursuits and struggles.

If he turns to psychology, the diplomat, the politician—or, in plain English, the expert in the art of spying, lying, bluffing and intriguing—will become less confident in the efficacy of his methods of deceiving; for psychology will teach him that actions talk louder than words and that silence may be more eloquent than speech; that one can not absolutely conceal one's soul, thoughts, feelings, intentions; one can not obstruct at the same time all the channels of motor discharge (articulate speech, its intonation, velocity, loudness, timber, indescribable modulations; inarticulate speech, unconscious gestures, bodily movements, expression of the eyes, etc.); moreover, one betrays one's soul not only by what one says or does but also by what one leaves unsaid, undone, not only by what

one does, but also—nay, still more —by how one does it; the mere fact of behaving overcautiously, mysteriously, suspiciously, and of speaking guardedly, reservedly, non-committally, vaguely, ambiguously, sophistically, betrays evil intentions, a guilty conscience, a dishonest nature, fear, insincerity, etc.; silence, in the usual meaning of the word, i. e., abstinence from articulate speech, betrays one often more than speech; there is no such thing as absolute silence except in the dead. I even surmise that the comparatively great frequency of stuttering among the reticent and commercially-minded Americans and Englishmen, who more than any other people fear and distrust and undermine each other, is largely due to the hypocritical or cowardly practice of hesitating as to what to say and what to keep to oneself, and as to how to speak so as to be able to retract one's words if necessary. This inherited or instilled hesitancy, self-control, repression, or constant interference with the expression of thought leads to incurable stuttering, particularly when intensified by nervous exhaustion, shock, fright, natural timidity.

Ethical psychology and ethology, which is foreshadowed in the works of Theophrastus, La Bruyere, etc., if cultivated in our colleges, would teach us how to detect impure, immoral motives. It would teach us, for instance, that diplomatic reticence, inhibitory, negative, non-committal mendacity betrays itself: (1) either in overcareful selection of the words to be spoken; (2) or in choked speech, i. e., the attempt to take back our words before uttering them, the attempt to keep back our words in the throat or in the oral cavity while uttering them; (3) or in blurring, making indistinct our spoken words by mumbling, by means of inhalation and nasalization, or by obliterating the pauses between the words; (4) or in vague, evasive, ambiguous speech, etc. These linguistic betrayals of mendacity are especially to be noticed in the English-speaking race. Ethical psychology will also teach us to discriminate between the disinterestedly sociable, genuinely kind-hearted individuals and the disguised predatory individuals posing as "good mixers", "jolly fellows", organizers, social workers, leaders, to whom sociability, friendliness, joviality are nothing but a means of approaching their prey, and to whom clubs, societies, organizations, gatherings are nothing but a more favorable hunting ground than the world at large, where men are more on the alert and where it is not so easy therefore to find and to approach prospective victims. Ethical psychology will teach us how to discriminate between the diplomat's, politician's or predatory individual's reticence due to distrust, lack of love for his fellowmen, fear of betraying his predatory designs, etc., and the thinker's reticence due to the fact that his ideas are organized into coherent, harmonious, complex structures or systems which require a stronger stimulus (viz., the assurance of meeting with understanding and sympathy on the part of his audience) to discharge themselves into the motor channel of articulate language than the proletarian philistine's detached, incoherent, unorganized, unsifted and loosely connected ideas, which discharge themselves separately into the motor channels of speech or action. Ethical psychology will show the ridiculousness and barrenness of our academico-statistical investigations into the causes, cure and extent of social evils. For just as the seeing man can embrace almost instantaneously and at a single glance a far vaster horizon than a blind man could explore in a lifetime in his groping, tactual way; just so in the social world the psychologically gifted moral individual can embrace, without any effort and without leaving his everyday post of observation, almost instantane-

ously and at a single glance, the entire extent, the sources and ramifications of human activity, both good and evil, while our morally and psychologically blind academicians or official scientists endeavor in vain to gain a glimpse—if they endeavor at all—by means of groping, never-ending and nowhere-leading lifelong statistical researches.

Freud's psycho-analysis has proved that one can not suppress for ever and with impunity his thoughts, feelings, desires, intentions; one may suppress their conscious, direct, open, honest, serious, healthy manifestation; but one can not prevent them from digging for themselves underground, subconscious, tortuous, symbolic, stealthy, covert, disguised, witty, dishonest, morbid outlet-channels, causing all sorts of disturbances such as forgetfulness, speech blunders, faulty acts, inner disharmony or self-dissatisfaction, perversions of the mental processes, psychic tumors, hysteria, mental dissociation, the development of secondary personalities. Applied to ethics, psycho-analysis would greatly contribute towards the enhancement of human solidarity, brotherhood and tolerance; for it would teach us that, in distinction from the objective, beneficial and altruistic fault-finding of the morally superior men, we average men refuse to sit in judgment on our own defects, foibles, shortcomings, vices and prefer to conceal, excuse, disguise or idealize them, failing to see that we betray our repressed, hidden, subconscious self-contempt and self-knowledge by ridiculing, blaming and censuring the very same defects in rivals, in other men, classes, nations, races. Ethical psycho-analysis would teach us that our dissatisfaction with others is nothing at bottom but a perverted, dishonest, wrong way of manifesting dissatisfaction with ourselves; knowing that by censuring others we betray our own misdeeds and evil intentions, we would become more cautious, less prone to do so and finally more tolerant. Ethical psycho-analysis will teach parents to discover their own faults and deficiencies in their children and hence to deal with them leniently, persuasively, lovingly. It will teach rulers, aristocrats, employers, masters and mistresses, superiors to discover their own faults, the caricature of their own hideous image in their subjects, in commoners, employees, servants, subordinates, and thus will cure them of their foolish, pernicious ambition of rising upon the backs of their fellow-men as well as of their cruel delight in snubbing, ridiculing and criticising the latter. It will teach us to look first in ourselves for the causes of our dissatisfaction with, distrust of, aversion to, disappointment in others. It will teach the treacherous, self-seeking, predatory individual that he betrays the poor opinion he subconsciously entertains of himself when he makes fun of those who trust him and confide in him, and when he attributes their behavior to foolishness, stupidity, and not to goodness and sincerity; this conclusion, to which he gives expression behind their backs, betrays his unexpressed subconscious reasoning leading thereto: "If these men", he says inwardly to himself, "repose so much confidence in a scoundrel and hypocrite like me, mistaking my friendly words or greeting for real kindness, and thus deliver themselves into my hands, they must be very foolish, indeed. Ethical psycho-analysis will teach the intra-social parasites that when they look with suspicion upon and disapprove of education, book-reading, thinking, criticism, meditation, seriousmindedness, on the ground that it leads to or is a symptom of waywardness, mischievousness, perversity, love of laziness, criminality, they betray thereby that this is the only use to which they themselves put their intelligence and knowledge and therefore can not conceive of any other reason why one should spend time

in thinking and acquiring knowledge. Ethical psycho-analysis will teach parents and teachers that most of the peculiarities, particularly the bad ones (such as the gang or predatory spirit, lawlessness, mischievousness, lying, make-believe, stealing, impersonation, day-dreaming, imitativeness, frivolousness, plaguing, hazing, pugnacity, bullying, suggestibility, etc.), which our official educators and juvenile court psychologists, owing to the one-sidedness or over-specialization forced upon them by capitalism as well as to their eagerness to justify their soft positions and to pose as discoverers, have been prone to attribute to the various ages of childhood, are in reality the life-long characteristics and pursuits of philistines, and particularly of predatory philistines and pseudo-superior men, which they carry with them through life and which they continue to indulge under increasingly disguised, refined, mitigated forms or under different, more respectable names, and that only the morally superior individuals are born free from, or soon outgrow, these predatory, anti-social proclivities. Ethical psycho-analysis will teach us how to unmask sensuality or sexual greed which hides itself behind the cloak of esthetic or psychologic study, esthetic enjoyment, admiration and friendship for members of the opposite sex, etc., by pointing out to the sensual hypocrites their blindness or indifference to the struggles or to the beauties and loveliness of their own sex. Ethical psycho-analysis will teach the so-called civilized nations and upper classes that they have no reason whatsoever to look down upon and to feel themselves morally superior to the so-called uncivilized nations and lower classes, for what makes them appear so is the fact that, while they make much noise about the little virtue they possess, they take care to indulge their vices, selfish and evil propensities in embellished, disguised, hypocritical, indirect, round-about, covert, secret, legally unpunishable ways. Ethical psycho-analysis will teach us that, in order to find out whether a man has any hidden, covert cruelty, predacity, anti-social intentions, all we have to do is to find out how he behaves when no restraint or fear or possible resistance hinders the discharge of his feelings into motor activity, that is to say, how he behaves towards servants, subordinates, dependents, towards the poor, humble, meek, friendless, defenseless, ostracized, outlawed. Ethical psycho-analysis teaches that the philistines betray more about their hidden aims, motives, feelings in what they say of others than in what they say of themselves; they betray what they know and think of their own class, profession, nation, race, in what they say about other classes, professions, nations, races, for the same reason that we find more truth about authors and their acquaintances in novels—where they can freely and safely vent their pent-up feelings, repressed opinions and observations through the mouth of fictitious personages—than in autobiographies, public speeches and statements, interviews, etc., where the authors speaking in their own names are held in check by the fear of criticism, resentment, persecution, willful misconstruction of their words, by the fear of betraying their own and other people's secrets and shortcomings, etc. Ethical psycho-analysis will teach the anti-semites that, by ridiculing the bargaining, profit-seeking, mammon-worshiping spirit of Jewish merchants, money-lenders, middlemen, they betray their subconscious contempt for themselves and their own pursuits, as the only difference between the Jews and them is that the former do on a small scale and from necessity, in a crude, open, direct, risky way, what they themselves do on a large scale and from choice, in a refined, covert, hypocritical, indirect, safer way.

Psycho-analysis, or rather plain self-scrutiny, teaches tolerance. For it reveals to grown-ups, employers, rulers, dominant races, social superiors the futility of expecting children, employees, subjects, subjugated races, social inferiors to display virtues which they themselves inexcusably lack or fail to cultivate, and the absurdity of resenting in the latter the very vices which they themselves possess and constantly arouse in others by their bad example. Ethical psycho-analysis will teach the natives of all countries and particularly the Americans of Anglo-Saxon stock to stop their outcry against the supposed inferiority, criminality, undesirable qualities, deteriorating influence of immigrants; for it will show them that in their accusations of the latter they betray the bad opinion which they subconsciously entertain about themselves, their own fathers or ancestors; and, in addition to this, ethical history will show them that their outcry is not new, that exactly the same charges were brought, with greater justification, against their own fathers, or ancestors, by the descendants of earlier immigrants. Ethical psycho-analysis will teach the whites who find so much to ridicule in the bodily appearance of colored races that their own moral appearance with its inconsistencies and hypocrisies is still more ludicrous. Thus to the moral genius, with his higher sense of humor, the sight of brutal, cruel, hateful, pugnacious and rapacious whites kneeling before the image of, and paying lip hommage, to the gentle, meek, peace-and man-loving Jesus, is far more ludicrous than the sight of naked and bare-footed Negroes in Liberia strutting around with silk hats on their heads.

While our plutolatrous professors of psychology are allowed to fool around with so-called mental tests, vocational psychology, pseudo character analysis, that is, artificial, pedantic and useless tests of employment-seekers' qualifications, the truly character revealing sciences (graphology, criminal anthropology, ethology, ethical psycho-analysis, physiognomics, phrenology) are left uncultivated and deliberately neglected in our capital- and parasite-controlled colleges; for the cultivation of such sciences, that try to read human character in the human face, in the configuration of the skull, in handwriting, in actions, etc., would deal the death blow to our hypocritical, egotistical and predatory master class and to their nefarious business. Our captains of industry would fly into a rage on hearing their faces described as vulpine, wolfish, piggish, vampire, criminal, or tiger faces. And their hired preachers, historians, apologists, biographers would become quite uneasy on hearing that their twisted facial features and their upward or inward turned eyes betray confused, nebulous, truth-shunning, pervertible minds, like convex and concave mirrors, reflect distorted images of men and things, and magnify or parvify, reveal or hide, beautify or vilify, brighten or obscure, extol or belittle them in conformity with the interests and wishes of their employers. Nor would our professional, venal politicians, demagogues, leaders and other intellectual prostitutes feel comfortable on hearing the science of physiognomics teach the people how to distinguish their fawning, insincere, hypocritical, meaningless, unnatural, studied smiles and politeness from the smiling expression and politeness of real kindness; how to distinguish the servile smile of fear, of a guilty conscience and of favor-seekers from the serene open smile of disinterested love of men; how to distinguish the bashfulness and inborn suspiciousness of evil-minded, guilty, treacherous, crooked individuals from

the bashfulness and acquired suspiciousness of morally superior men when they are thrown together with uncongenial, conventional, hypocritical, underhanded, materialistic people; etc.

One might point out the teaching of ethics in schools as a proof of the incorrectness of my contention that character-revealing sciences (ethology, physiognomics, graphology, phrenology) and studies or literary productions that savor of moral or social criticism (socialistic sociology, serious or realistic literature and art, which have an overt moral purpose and which, unlike capitalistic literature and art, offer truth undiluted in fiction or wit) are a bugbear to the predatory classes and therefore deliberately tabooed and suppressed by them; for, while they are past masters in covering up their misdeeds, they could not possibly hide, disown or change their faces. To such an objector I could easily reply that ethics is a study of too old a standing to be summarily dismissed from the curriculum by the hirelings of capitalism. But if they do not dare to kill ethics openly they do it underhandedly; they empty it, namely, of its contents while leaving the husk untouched; they teach an ethics with its most important and vitalizing part left out, that is, a shadowy, abstract, distorted ethics whose bearings on actual human life and welfare are entirely obliterated; nay, more, they carefully eliminate ethics from all social sciences (economics, sociology, political science, the study of law, applied psychology, etc.) whose only *raison d 'etre* is their ethical import; they fight against ethics on every occasion under the mask of a fight against fault-finding, pessimism, radicalism, sentimentalism or softheadedness; this aversion to ethics is also betrayed by that higher type of self-seekers who commercialize socialistic propaganda, although it is the most stupid contradiction in terms to maintain that socialism has nothing to do with sentimentalism (they mean to say with ethics) and has no quarrel with individual exploiters but merely with the system that compels them to be merciless (as if the predatory system had been inescapably forced upon the poor innocent exploiters by some cruel fate or despot)

Strictly speaking, it is a nonsensical academic fiction to speak of the influence of religion, science, art, philosophy upon the morality of men; for the former do not exist apart from or independently of men, as the physical environment does, but are products of human thinking and activity. It is more correct to say that those men who willingly and disinterestedly devote part or most of their energy to such pursuits prove thereby that they do not consider the accumulation of wealth, the enslaving and robbing of their fellow-men, as a worthy aim of life, and hence are at least less dangerous to the human species than the materialistic, predatory individuals, who merely comply with the outward, formal, unessential demands of religion, art, science, etc., devoting in reality their entire energy to business, profit-seeking, grafting, legalized robbery, etc., and than the pseudo-superior men who, under the mask of ministering to the political, religious, artistic, educational needs of the people, in reality adulterate, narrow down, pervert the higher acquisitions of civilization for the benefit of their secret allies and unseen masters or employers, the plutocrats, commercial robbers, hereditary aristocrats or titled parasites, etc.: They misconstrue the doctrines of genuine scientists, moralists, philosophers—Darwin's theories of natural selection, survival of the fittest, struggle for existence, for instance—into excuses for the merciless slaughter and robberies perpetrated by human beasts of prey; they use religion, civilization, philanthropy, and the Law as a cloak for cruelty, murder,

vindictiveness, theft, greed; they confuse and pervert the teachings of genuine moralists (Jesus, Socrates, Confucius, Buddha, the Stoics, Epicureans, and all unbribable, unmuzzled thinkers) and substitute compulsory obedience, respect for discipline, abstract duties, so-called imperatives, etc., for the fellowship, love for all men, brotherly co-operation, pursuit of general happiness and uplift preached by the latter.

The truth, therefore, is not that religion, science, education, knowledge, make men more moral, but that the disinterested need for such pursuits coexists in the minds of normal men with the tendency towards a higher morality or at least with the tendency towards decreasing greed and rapacity. Whoever lacks such inborn higher needs remains inaccessible to the teachings of moralists, scientists, philosophers.

CHAPTER II.

Preservative and Consolidating Causes of Morality:

REASON can not create anything. The only thing it can do is to guide or direct. It can not, therefore, create altruistic and moral feelings out of egoism; but it can teach an egotist how to imitate the acts of altruism, it can teach him the necessity and importance of morality, it shows him how important for his own selfish pursuits it is to maintain respect for the law and for morality in others and hence to preach morality even if he does not practice it. If the upper classes maintain that religion is necessary for the lower classes, it is because and as long as it teaches them submission, obedience, renunciation.

Reason can also invalidate, weaken, or consolidate, strengthen the moral sentiments and promptings due to instinct, inheritance, habituation, education, suggestion. The sun shines alike upon the just and the unjust. Just so does the light of reason or knowledge offer guidance to the selfish, to the criminal as well as to the altruistic, to the moral. Intelligence may be pressed into the service of selfish, predatory, criminal as well as of productive, unselfish, honest pursuits. In one and the same individual, however, intelligence can serve only his dominant instincts. He who loves, serves, helps intelligently is stupid in hating, harming, deceiving others. There are intelligently moral and intelligently dishonest individuals, just as there are stupidly honest and stupidly dishonest ones.

Of course, the support given to honesty by the dishonest does not amount to much, nor is it to their credit. For the liar, the egotist, the dishonest, the exploiter, likes the truth-telling, altruistic, honest, hard-working individuals only on the condition that the latter do not expect any reciprocation; on condition that they be naive and intellectually blind so as not to see the moral defects of the former; on condition that they be sufficiently stupid and meek to accept without protest the fate of hard toil and of bitter privations allotted to them by the former; on condition that they be such enthusiastic and blind worshippers of success that all the defects and crimes of the successful men should appear to them as merits, as well-meant actions, just as the religious fanatic sees divine justice and divine goodness everywhere, even in the misery of honest people, in the sufferings of innocent children, and in the bestiality or criminality of wars.

Reason, reflection, conceptual thinking alone does not prompt directly or immediately to action. It merely guides the actions prompted by sentiments, by emotional perceptions. It also dictates the retardation or the acceleration, the postponement or the precipitation of the putting into practice of our sentiments, impulses, decisions. The genuinely moral individual does not reflect or deliberate as to whether or not he should relieve the misery and increase the happiness of his fellow-men. He merely reflects, ponders, deliberates as to whether he can do it and how he can best do it. Reflection, hesitation, in the case of simple, constantly recurring, vitally important, urgent occasions for action, in general, and for social or moral action, in particular, is certainly a symptom of defect, morbidity, selfishness, weak or absent morality. But it is perfectly

normal and compatible with morality to reflect or hesitate in the case of complex, rare, consequential, and non-urgent occasions for action. Reasoning as to whether or not we should comply with the requirements of justice and of altruism, searching for the origin, basis, justification of moral actions and sentiments, is certainly normal and not detrimental to morality in a thinking individual; but it is often a symptom of moral degeneration, dissolution, or decline in a philistine; just as the self-analysis prompted by *self-consciousness*, self-conceit or egotism is a morbid symptom in the non-psychologizing individual. Physiological and psychical actions in themselves are neither morbid nor normal, neither moral nor immoral. It is the aim, the goal which they subserve, it is their relation to and effect upon the whole individual or social organism that determines their normal or abnormal character.

Actions, opinions, institutions, sentiments, beliefs, traditions that cannot stand the scrutiny of Reason, the light of Truth, the test of free discussion, do not deserve being preserved; for they have no real, vivifying, permanent, general, social usefulness. Moreover, error, deception, superstition, pious fraud, mercenary, fictitious history, sweet illusions, appearances, ignorance, cannot be preserved against dissolution, for the light-waves of Truth are irrepressible, and sooner or later will lay bare the most hidden nooks and corners of social organizations and of human souls. Not genuine morality, but disguised immorality and criminality, needs the protecting cloak of darkness, secrecy, ignorance, censorship, compulsion, conspiracy. Genuine morality has nothing to fear from the full daylight of reason, publicity, freedom of thought, discussion; on the contrary, it thrives much better and ripens to full maturity under their stimulating influences. It is not the religious genius that advises and enforces renunciation of the guidance of Reason. It is the parasitical exploiters of religious sentiments; it is the church that needs and therefore teaches the "Credo quia absurdum." It is not true patriotism that demands the falsification of history, the idealization of wars and of imbecile, parasitical monarchs. It is the exploiters and their hired historians who demand such deception under the pretext of thus maintaining patriotic sentiments. It is not disinterested, rational, enlightened patriotism; it is not the general interest, prosperity, and security of the nation that demands wars, territorial expansion, hatred of foreigners, international hostility, protectionism, an expensive and demoralizing military force, belief in a national force, belief in a national soul or *Volksgeist* that has to be preserved against being contaminated by an admixture of foreign elements, etc. It is interested, sham, irrational, stupid pseudo patriotism; it is class interest, class selfishness or class rule, the interests of a handful of noisy intra-social or domestic parasites that demand all that.

CHAPTER III.

Sex and Morality.

AS women are emotional beings, guided in all their dealings with others by mere personal likes and dislikes, and have until recently been exempted from the dire necessity of struggling for existence in cooperation or in competition with either their own or the opposite sex, we understand why the spirit of fairness and of fair play or the sense of justice, which is the rational constituent of morality, is generally lacking or embryonal in women, and why the spirit of solidarity is still less developed in them.

The physical and mental weakness, and the economic dependence of women are responsible for their selfishness or lack of consideration for others; for their worship of tangible, material success, physical strength, wealth, authority, lucrative talent; for their quasi-instinctive lying, simulating, dissimulating, mimicry; for their undeveloped love of truth, and preference shown to illusions, appearances, flattery. As truthfulness, at least in social matters, and the exchange of services with one's fellowmen form the foundation of justice, we understand why there is little chance of developing first this phase of feminine morality; we understand why it is more pedagogical to begin the moral education of women with the altruistic or emotional constituent of morality in which women are better endowed by Nature than in the rational moral constituent. Feminine altruism is confined mostly to children, to the sick, wounded, crippled; but women are cruel, rude, haughty, snobbish towards their less fortunate sisters. Ready to court the privileged, women hate and envy their equals and immediate superiors; and when they love the latter, it is only interestedly. Her narrow-mindedness, prejudices, erroneous opinions, hetero-suggestibility, confusion of success with merit make woman narrow-hearted towards unfortunate social classes (servants, employees, aliens, workingmen, heretics, etc.) and homeless or conquered races (Jews, Negroes, Irish, Hindoos, etc.). Her sentiments being undifferentiated, mixed, impure, we understand why it is difficult for woman to feel disinterested friendship, pure or self-forgetful pity.

Genuine broad-heartedness goes together with broad-mindedness. As women are very seldom broad-minded, we understand why they surpass men in cruelty towards enemies, rivals, social inferiors, conquered nations, etc. Their altruism towards one set of people is neutralized by their indifference or even cruelty towards others; their altruism towards children, towards the weak and poor, is neutralized by their antipathy towards adults, social equals and immediate superiors; their conjugal and maternal love is proprietary, monopolistic, intolerant of other affections in the heart of the loved ones.

As woman's understanding of others is not yet differentiated from her feelings and is based, not on logical, clear, definite knowledge, but on vague, undifferentiated or unanalyzed, subconscious impressions—which gives it the appearance of being intuitive, instinctive, or *a priori*—, we understand why woman can understand only those with whom she is in sympathy or *en rapport*, or with whom at least she has no conflict of interests.

In men the faculty of understanding or thinking is more or less independent of and differentiated from that of feeling or sympathizing. Men can understand, therefore, even the souls of their enemies, rivals, and this mitigates their hatred; whereas women can understand others only through the mediation of sympathy or interest. Hence their fierce cruelty towards enemies, rivals, etc.

Her oligo-ideism, her irrational egoism, and her impure altruism prevent woman from having simultaneously regard for her own and for others' interests, especially if there is some conflict between the two.

Her mania for pleasing, her thirst for flattery, her instinctive mimicry of acknowledged authorities, her vanity or love of distinction in dress, rank, etc., are strong anti-moral forces and cause her to cultivate the form, externals, appearances, visible outer marks of justice, Religion, intellectual pursuits, ... at the expense of the matter, substance, invisible content.

Morally superior women may excel in social patch-work, in the relief of some human suffering, but never in social regeneration work, in the prevention of all misery; they may feel more or less democratically and passively condemn the artificial social hierarchy based upon the exploitation and degradation of the masses, but they very seldom take a consistent, whole-hearted, energetic part in the fight for the abolition of all caste systems; they may theoretically become tolerant or broad-minded, but their tolerance is not sufficiently disinterested, impersonal, courageous, self-forgetful, free from vanity, consistent to go beyond mere passivity or indifference, to refuse to tolerate others' intolerance, to uncompromisingly take sides with the oppressed and exploited against the oppressing and exploiting classes; their broad-mindedness and broad-heartedness consists in sheltering in their hearts and minds irreconcilable views, interests, feelings by simply keeping them, as they keep logic and sentiment, in separate compartments, instead of bringing them together and either reconciling them or making a choice between them.

CHAPTER IV.

Mental Types and Moral Characters.

FROM the point of view of moral character men may be divided into the following main types:

(1) Harmonious, democratic, liberal, philosophic, many-sided, stable, orderly, balanced minds. In men of this type all the important tendencies, impulses, aims or aspirations, rule conjointly and in harmony with each other. Such men have settled convictions on vital matters, pure affections, guiding principles; they are broad-minded, open to new ideas, more or less broad-hearted, constant and tolerant of other people's beliefs; their morality is autonomous, disinterested. A particular, less perfect case of this type is the oligarchical mind in which only the most important aims rule.

(2) An-harmonious, amorphous, philistine, conversional or suggestible, externally unified or stabilized minds. In men of this type antagonistic impulses and emotions rule in succession and alternately; their morality is heteronomous, conventional, formal; their affections are impure: they love and hate one and the same individual or object according to the aspect that presents itself to their attention. A particular case of this type is the self-duping, hypocritical, cowardly individual who under the influence of others is ready to repress part of his natural impulses and to give expression only to the opposite set of impulses. Such an individual runs the risk of either losing altogether the repressed part of his personality or condemning it to secret, subconscious manifestation or having his personality split up into two entirely disconnected, antagonistic personalities that alternately gain the upper hand in his mind.

(3) The monarchical, despotic, one-sided, extremist, mono-idealistic, ambitious, persevering minds. In these individuals one aim rules despotically over the mind. From sinners they turn into saints. If their dominant aim is wealth, fame or prominence, then they are interestedly, legally moral; they have a strongly developed caste spirit and are ruled in their actions by social prejudices.

(4) The disharmonious, chaotic, anarchical, eccentric, disintegrated, decadent, confused, degenerate, unstable, multi-personal, hysterical, histrionic minds. In individuals of this type conflicting ideas, feelings, impulses rule independently at the same time or in quick succession; their character is unreliable; they are capable of both self-sacrifice and crime.

(5) The apathetic, indifferent, phlegmatic, hesitating, faint-hearted type is characterized by the possession of weak or mutually neutralizing impulses and hence a weak, passive moral character.

(6) The feminine, artistic, emotional, circular, subjective, inconstant, fluctuating type lacks settled convictions, the sense of impersonal justice; the conduct of such individuals is the result of the momentary mood or emotion; their mental processes revolve in a circle: without any reason or objective cause these individuals go over from exaltation to indifference, depression and then back to exaltation, from love to indifference, hatred and back to love, from conviction to

doubt, disbelief and back to conviction, from religious mysticism to skepticism, atheism and back to some new form of religious mysticism, etc.; in short, their physiological ebb and flow produces a corresponding mental ebb and flow.

(7) In the infantile, impulsive, light-minded, savage, active, mono-ideistic type of mind the instinctive mechanisms are easily set in action by a single perception or impression of the moment, by a momentary and immediate need, by a single impulse, and may be easily displaced by another, and even opposite, impulse unchained by the impression of the following moment. The individuals of this type may go over without any intermediate steps from benevolence to ferocity, from happiness to despair, etc.; they are oblivious of the past, unconcerned about the future, and live only in the present.

(8) In the mono-maniacal, deluded, fixed idea type of mind a parasitical idea or impulse, which remained isolated or repressed during the normal state, gains despotic control over the entire mind and rules with complete disregard of the individual's perception, memory, reason and even against his needs or interests. Thus normally honest, humble, kind-hearted individuals may become obsessed by kleptomaniacal, homicidal, megalo-maniacal impulses.

BOOK FIVE

Origin, Conditions and Varieties of Immorality.

Introduction

SOURCES AND RESOURCES OF IMMORALITY

IN order to establish more firmly the true causes of morality, we have to consider the causes of immorality. For knowing the causes that compel morality to decay and to make room at first for an interested or business morality, then for moral indifference, and finally for immorality, we can better appreciate the causes which make morality appear and evolve: the latter causes are exactly the opposite of the former.

To attain this knowledge, there is no need for resorting to artificial experiments and to statistics or to similar imposing far-fetched, roundabout and barren academic methods. Simple observation of ourselves and of those around us is quite sufficient. Thus we can notice in ourselves and in those around us how despotism, oppression, intolerance, compulsion, intimidation, economic dependence or insecurity breed hypocrisy, deceitfulness, secretiveness, underhandedness, treachery, distrustfulness, unsolidarity, selfishness; and the logical conclusion to be drawn therefrom is that democracy, liberty, sympathetic understanding, economic independence or security will favor the blossoming of sincerity, truthfulness, confidence, solidarity, genuine sociability, friendship, altruism. We can notice in ourselves how the uncertainty of life within civilized society, economic dependence, the unnecessarily complicated machinery and burdensome formalities of human institutions, the difficulty of getting work even if we are willing to work, the manifest triumph of vice, flattery, hypocrisy, etc., tend to kill our moral aspirations or at least our moral scruples; and we may safely infer therefrom that the opposite external causes (economic security and economic inter-dependence resulting from social solidarity, a simpler and more controllable organization of society, the securing of work and of a minimum of existence for all members of society, severe regulations against favoritism, etc.), will maintain and produce morality by leaving as a surplus of energy what before, in an individualistic or un-solidary society, was spent in competing with our fellow-men, and which now, in a solidary society, will be put into the service of our fellow-men, of justice, altruism, disinterested friendship. From a means morality becomes an end for the individual, although for society as a whole it may remain a means.

It might be objected that if it is true that a solidary, co-operative society is requisite for the genesis and growth of morality (justice and altruism), it is likewise true that morality is a requisite for the genesis and persistence of a co-operative social organization. In other words, if it is true that improved conditions make men better or rather favor the survival of better men, it is also true that it takes better men to improve existing conditions and institutions. How can we expect, then, to get out of or break this vicious circle and climb upwards along the evolutionary spiral? Fortunately, morality does not need to be created; it merely needs to be aroused or converted from its potential, dormant, latent, diffuse, undirected or misdirected form into actual, kinetic, concentrated, purposeful energy. This is effected by the few and scattered moral geniuses who, in spite of the unfavorable conditions of our competitive system, possess a certain

fund of kinetic morality which drives them to act upon the potentially altruistic masses and to induce in the latter a powerful disposition towards establishing a solidary society, which in its turn will favor the growth of individual happiness and morality; just as in the electric generator a certain amount of magnetism must be present in the magnetic field in order to induce in the coils of the rotating armature an electric current, which in its turn may partly be used for the further magnetization of the field and partly for various mechanical, illuminating, and heating purposes.

To speak with our academic criminologists of heat and cold (climate, seasons), atmospheric moisture and pressure (mountainous and level regions) or other geographical or meteorological conditions, and also of liberty, education, density of population, city life, etc., as causes of crime, is certainly bad metaphysics or an undue extension of the concept cause; for crime is only a branch of or rather an excrescence upon the tree of human activity, and whatever cause makes for the increase or the decrease of general vitality and resourcefulness will surely affect criminal activity as well. The very fact that brutal and kind-hearted people live side by side in all climes, in all parts of the world, is the best evidence of the absurdity of the causes of crime which geographic determinism and academic criminology claim to have discovered in geographic, geologic and meteorologic conditions, as if man were a mere passive plaything in the hands of Nature and had not learned to make himself independent of her whims. Properly speaking, the cause of anything is whatever makes it arise, grow, persist, while unmaking, thwarting, dissolving, something else. In order to be able to fight successfully against crime, we have to know its specific, primary, ultimate, radical causes; we have to know what makes it appear, persist, grow, multiply, while thwarting at the same time honest activity. The fact that city life (density of population, diversity of origin, opportunity for anonymity or for escape), liberty, education, new inventions and facilities, can be used not only for good but also for evil, is no reason for restricting these boons, for depriving some men of them; for what can be used for two opposite aims can not be a cause of either. If liberty and education may favor both moral and immoral action, so do their opposites (slavery and ignorance, deprivation of liberty and of knowledge) harm or hinder both at the same time, that is, they make the conditions of social life worse than before. By depriving of liberty and education the detected criminals we do not protect mankind against the undetected, free and educated criminals. It is not cold *per se* that drives men to commit crimes against property; it is their being deprived of the means of avoiding cold (shelter, employment). Cold merely drives men away from its painful sensations or tissue-destroying action. The unlawful ways of avoiding intense cold and gnawing hunger are due to our imperfect, iniquitous social organization, to lack of opportunity for, and of attractiveness in earning a decent livelihood, etc. Nor is heat *per se* a cause of crimes against persons. Extreme heat, like extreme cold, enervates, weakens the power of self-control, paralyzes both mind and body, both good and evil propensities. Moderate heat invigorates all impulses alike. The warm weather invites men to leave their shelters and to be on the move. It brings together not only men of antagonistic or hostile types of mind, but also congenial types. If the former association results in friction, quarrel, assault, murder, and the latter association results in team work, cooperation, mutual stimulation or enlightenment, permanent and voluntary association; it is not the season or heat

that is to be praised or blamed therefor, but the psychical qualities of human beings and the institutions flowing therefrom. The truth-loving, unbiased thinker finds the real, ultimate causes of immorality in selfishness, inequality, or lack of opportunity, injustice, greed, parasitism, usurpation, laziness, mammon-worship, lack of solidarity, cut-throat competition, harsh and scornful treatment of the luckless or social inferiors, insecurity, tyranny, slavery, exploitation, profit-seeking, private ownership of the means of production and transportation, hunger, homelessness, lack of employment, enforced idleness, etc. As soon as we have laid our hands on the real causes of crime—all of which are either derivatives or effects of predatory parasitism—, we possess at the same time the remedies which are but the opposites of the above enumerated causes, viz.: altruism, love, equality of opportunity, apotheosis of spiritual wealth, co-operation, solidarity, loving treatment of delinquents and inferiors, security of remunerative employment, equal liberty for all, production for use, socialization of such means of production and transportation as lend themselves to profit-making or to the exploitation of others, universal right to food, shelter, amusement, knowledge, work, universal obligation to do a minimum amount of socially useful labor. It is a criminal waste of time to investigate into the pseudo-radical causes of crime, i. e., into those remote causes which do not affect criminality in particular; just so is it a criminal waste of energy to tackle the proximate, accidental, occasional, individual causes of crime, misery, unhappiness, which causes cannot permanently and effectively be eradicated unless an attack is made on the more remote, permanent, radical, ultimate and social causes. To fight against alcoholism, disease- and crime-breeding slums, prostitution, white-slavery, graft, political machines or cliques, quackery, bad government, and to blame mental inferiority, unfitness, degeneration, atavism, amorphism, improvidence, worry, inertia, discontentedness, and other individual vices or pseudo-vices, is either shortsightedness, stupid waste of human energy, or crafty social quackery meant to pacify, confuse, blind the protesting well-meaning people; for all these proximate causes and pseudo-radical causes have their main source in our social-economic system based upon the unchecked disguised preying of a minority upon the masses.

Our social organization is maintained by the parasitical, predatory or self-styled "upper" classes upon the primitive, atavistic, pre-social foundation of self-seeking, robbery, deception, violence, upon warfare in the guise of competition, upon spoliation in the guise of employment-giving, upon piracy and highway robbery in the guise of promoting, guiding and concentrating human activities, upon self-aggrandizement and self-seeking under the mask of philanthropy and public service, upon monopolization of the means of existence under the mask of opening up new fields of production, upon interference with and retardation of human civilization, solidarity, cooperation, mutual service, constructive work under the mask of furthering and stimulating the same. Whereas in the masses of workers deception and violence, these legitimate weapons of the primitive, non-gregarious man, are merely weapons of defense, which become ever more atrophied, decaying to the rank of mere occasional weapons or of a mere plaything (such as fooling, teasing, the playing of harmless tricks upon each other, wrestling matches, etc.), and have made room for the more progressive method of production, construction, association, cooperation, division of labor; the atavistic or morally undeveloped members of "the upper class" use deception and violence, either separately or combined, as a weapon of offense, as a permanent,

freely chosen method of earning a comfortable livelihood. If allowed free play much longer, these parasites or disguised criminals will go on infecting the social organism; they will drain its vitality, retard its progress and finally drag it to destruction or back to savagery; for they spare only the intellectual cripples, the philistines, who allow themselves to be ground into profits in exchange for some food, shelter, clothing, and stultifying amusement, whereas they drive to starvation, crime, insanity, destruction, the nobler social elements, the dreamers, the thinkers, the saviours of the human species, all men with higher aspirations for whom food and shelter are mere means to higher ends.

In face of the universal callous, pitiless exploitation of man by man, it is ridiculous on the part of academic criminologists, jurists and alienists to class the criminals as a separate, abnormal, subnormal, atavistic, mentally deranged type of men. The criminal, like the majority of so-called respectable citizens, has no or very little respect for other people's life and property, the only difference being that he is more thorough, courageous and frank about it. And, like the rest of men, some criminals are intelligent and others stupid, some are normal or mentally balanced and others degenerate or unbalanced, some are sane and others insane. The intelligent and sane criminals, being more cautious and less impulsive than the stupid and insane criminals, are more immune from detection than the latter and therefore more dangerous to human society. The criminal, who looks upon his fellowmen as his legitimate prey, is a wolf in human shape, and just as much a natural, normal product of present conditions as is the wolf or any other predatory animal. And human society will continue to be plagued with his kind as long as it maintains its individualistic or anarchic structure, its "everybody-for-himself" policy.

What has been said about meteorological, anthropological, geographic and similar far-fetched or too short-sighted determinisms, applies also to the recently revived physiological determinism (behaviorism, gland psychology, etc.), which pretends to explain human behavior in general and mental abnormality and criminality in particular by means of glandular, visceral and other physiological processes, conveniently forgetting that these, in turn, are affected by the cerebro-spinal processes underlying all mental activity. The futility of physiological explanations for socio-psychological phenomena—pointed out long ago by Socrates—, like the futility of all the other non-psychological determinisms, is due to their attempt to explain too much: They explain nothing because they try to explain too many things; they miss the real cause and cure, so near at hand, because they can focus their eyes only upon remote sources which affect collective, instinctive, deeply rooted human behavior and an individual's entire mental activity but do not affect and hence do not explain rational, deliberate, individual human behavior, let alone an individual's particular actions rooted in the top soil of personal experiences and social economic conditions. Psychoanalytical determinism comes nearer to the truth about mental abnormality and criminality, but fails to discover it, owing to its being too much absorbed in individual psychology and hence blind to the proximate, social-economic causes of crime and insanity.

CHAPTER I.

Economic Immorality.

(a) PARASITISM.

IN primitive times when all the members of the same tribe had the same occupation, and every man was a master of all arts, no or very little parasitism within the tribe was possible. Only collective or group parasitism, that is, parasitism at the expense of nature or of other tribes, could exist. With the introduction of specialization or the division of labor, of industrialism, exchange or commerce, politics, and with the decrease of the opportunities for preying upon other tribes, intra-social parasitism became possible. Parasitism springs from greed and laziness or aversion to labor, and takes on so many forms, either frank or disguised, that one can hardly tell parasitism from socially useful activity. There is no human institution which does not shelter its specific parasites.

The rich parasites (financial speculators, bankers, capitalists, etc.) are more dangerous to human society than the poor parasites (beggars, tramps, etc.) for the simple reason that we give the latter voluntarily from our surplus, whereas the former compel us indirectly, hence with impunity, to toil, to kill our minds and bodies in order to enrich them. The capitalists exploit, prey upon, the material disadvantages and needs of the masses. The Church, spiritualism, immortality-mongers, prey upon the spiritual needs and weaknesses.

The rich shift the burdens, hardships and uncertainties of life's struggles on to the shoulders of the poor classes. The distinction drawn by European socialists between rich and poor classes, between capitalistic or predatory and toiling or disinherited classes, is not an arbitrary one, made for demagogical purposes, but is based on anatomical as well as on psychical characteristics. Only, this distinction between the predatory and the productive classes may mislead us into believing that all the children of the rich belong to the predatory type and all the children of the poor belong to the productive type and are driven to crime only by outside pressure, want, exploitation; whereas in reality both classes give birth to both types, the capitalistic class to comparatively more predatory individuals than the working class. In one and the same family some children inherit mostly the latent or actual predatory instincts of their parents, and other children inherit mostly their productive or social instincts; more girls than boys inherit the anti-social, aristocratic, privilege-seeking or parasitic instincts of the human species. Whoever is naturally selfish, a-moral, venomous, predatory, voracious, noisy, obtrusive, terrifying, vindictive, aggressive, foxy, greedy, narrow-hearted, hypocritical, and puts his whole intelligence and his whole heart into the service of money accumulation, is a born candidate for capitalism, no matter whether he belongs by birth to the rich or the poor class. The born candidate for capitalism instinctively looks upon his fellowmen either as milch cows and beasts of burden, if they are good-natured, naive, and trusting; or as rivals whose favor and accompliceship must be secured at any price, if they are well-situated parasites; or as rivals who must be exterminated, if they are meek and poor, but too intelligent to lend themselves to being preyed upon, and too honest to join hands with exploiters. The fact that kleptomania (which is but an im-

pulsive morbid form of greediness) is comparatively frequently met with among rich women, corroborates the above made statement about the inborn psychical class-characteristics of the candidates for capitalism. The American socialists who find no fault with the hearts of capitalists, but merely with our competitive system (as if this system were not man-made, as if it were imposed by external nature or by human society as a whole), prove thereby their inability to free themselves from the spell of the highly contagious American mammon-worship.

The congenitally self-seeking, cruel, parasitical individuals are the causes of the bad remuneration of honest and hard work; they are responsible for the existence of poverty, of unequal opportunities, injustice; and vice versa the bad remuneration of hard work, the contempt for poverty, the artificial inequalities act in their turn upon all men, even upon the congenitally honest people who are thereby discouraged in their honest ways of struggling for existence, and are rather compelled to bring out their baser impulses, to act against their most sacred convictions, to pursue parasitical and hypocritical professions, although naturally inclined to work honestly and openly.

If originally it was necessary to have some amount of intelligence or of muscular strength in order to prey upon the less intelligent, or upon the weak, in order to reduce them to drudgery and poverty; it is no longer necessary now, for, owing to the exploiting, capitalistic institutions created and improved upon by criminal or parasitical geniuses, the poor are a helpless prey in the hands of the rich, they must sell their muscular strength or their brain power in exchange for food. The rich can buy everything, except perhaps love; they hire the brains of intellectual proletarians to relieve them of the burden of thinking, to relieve them of the burden of self-preservation. The financial king can hire scapegoats under the name of agents, private or social secretaries, companions, etc., who expiate his sins; who shield him against favor-seekers, against over-taxing altruistic advices and suggestions; who keep him jealously insulated in their midst, thus preventing him from coming in close contact with the people, truth, and reality. He can hire artistic, literary, poetical, philanthropical, pseudo-innovators who let him have the credit for their initiatives, in exchange for high salaries. He owns or controls lawyers, public officials, the Church, the press, the government, so that he can carry on his nefarious pursuits with impunity. Universities are eager to confer degrees upon him in exchange for donations. Monarchs are ready to sell him titles of nobility. Intellectual prostitutes vie with each other in singing his praises, in praising him for virtues he never possessed. Trust companies take care of his wealth and children after his death.

Parasitism is the first and main cause of economic dependence, of poverty. And economic dependence (the fear of being thrown into the clutches of that terrible monster called unemployment or starvation by one's capricious social superiors), in its turn, drives those in whom self-respect, sensitiveness, love of truth and of independence are highly developed into rebellion, crime, vagabondage, bohemianism; whereas the masses of average men are frightened thereby into stupidity, self-surrender, renunciation of all spontaneity, of freethinking, of sincerity, of natural confidence. Economic dependence breeds vindictiveness, hatred, criminality, hostility, jealousy, laziness, discouragement, incapacity for hope, on the one hand; and stupidity, cowardice, selfishness, distrust, hypocrisy, greed, on the other hand. Woe to the economically dependent individual who dares to see human relations in their true light, that is, with his own eyes!

Woe to the economically dependent man who dares to doubt that the success of his social superiors is due to anything else but extraordinary ability, merit, good luck! Woe to him if, in his misery and distress, instead of blaming himself or his ill luck, and instead of invoking the help of an imaginary god, he puts the blame on his parasitical social superiors and looks for help in an overthrow of the present social organization! Woe to the slave who does not prostrate himself before the masters who have the power of starving him to death if it so pleases them! Woe to the poor man who dares to cultivate self-respect, refined sentiments or aspirations, and to indulge in free thought! Woe to him if he dares to hold the capitalists responsible for the spoliation system instead of rebelling merely against the system which compels the poor, innocent, good-natured capitalists to suck out against their will the blood of the toiling masses! Woe to him if, instead of looking up to the wealthy, to the rulers, as to supermen and benefactors of mankind, he dares to unmask them as disguised human beasts of prey! Woe to the economically dependent man who puts it into his mind that he is not born to be a mere blind, docile instrument in the hands of his social superiors!

The capitalists who prey with impunity upon the helpless, ignorant, poor proletarians, are, in their turn, preyed upon by women, flatterers, confidence men, blackmailers, detectives, promoters, all sorts of schemers and social climbers, fake antique dealers, parasitical intellectuals who happen to have the same tastes, the same irresistible love of comfort and of pleasure as the rich, but who lack the lucrative talent or opportunity of artists, actors, singers, orators, novelists, dramatists, authors of syndicated cartoons or articles, which should enable them to get easily rich by rendering such services as can be shared simultaneously by large numbers of men. These parasitical intellectuals (pseudo-scholars, pseudo-philanthropists, pseudo-litterati, ...) turn, therefore, their attention to the oversaturated capitalists who have the vanity but not the ability of becoming writers, artists, leaders of the people or who have the vanity of becoming immortalized as benefactors of mankind, or who at the end of their life are looking for some easy way of appeasing their guilty conscience and of reconciling God whose commands they have disobeyed in their lust for gold. To create sinecures for themselves, the pseudo-superior men lie in wait for just such vain, broken-hearted, or old and hell-fearing capitalists who crave for immortality, for reconciliation with God, for the gratitude of the masses robbed by them, and at the opportune moment offer themselves in a very disguised, diplomatic manner to serve as intermediators: They suggest to these capitalists the establishment of scholarships, prizes, publication funds, the foundation of a new political party, of churches, of charitable institutions, of colleges, of asylums and hospitals, social settlements, etc., which seemingly serve the people but in reality serve as a source of direct or indirect incomes for the intermediators and as advertising agencies for the patrons. No sooner do the pseudo-philanthropists hear of some noble protest raised by a moral genius against a social evil—say, child labor, cruel treatment of animals, prisoners, and children, congestion of the poor-districts, political corruption, graft, . . .— than they try immediately to exploit it for their own benefit: They hunt up some vain money-bag and assure him of public praise in order to make him loosen his purse-strings and give the necessary money for an apparently well-meant investigation, but which usually ends in smoke, i. e., in a few printed reports that do not make us any wiser and in a few newspaper sensations that soon

die away, leaving the real state of affairs exactly as it was before. Other grafters who have more influence with politicians, bring pressure to bear upon the government from which they get appropriations and appointments as sanitary, efficiency, child labor, industrial relations, municipal administration experts, food administrators, etc.; they know however that, in order to keep their soft positions, they must confine themselves to mere noise or make-believe activity and refrain from interfering with the evils which they are supposed to investigate with a view to finding remedies therefor. We get irritated if a beggar-woman, in order to arouse more pity and hence to be more successful in her profession, holds on her arm a baby borrowed from some neighbor; but we fail to see the hidden large scale and hence more dangerous parasitism of pseudo-superior men who tear away poor orphans from their remaining living parent and rob babies of their maternal love of which they are more in need than of drugs, in order to pack their asylums, nurseries, or hospitals and thus have a pretext for begging more money from patrons, legacies from the rich and appropiations from the government.

Our social organization moves in a vicious circle of which it is hard, indeed, to get out. The exploitation of the ignorant, ill-informed, weak, unprotected, stupid, meek, naive, honest, unsuspicious, confident, gullible, creates poverty, sickness, worry, degeneration, insecurity; poverty and insecurity, in their turn, give birth to greed, and offer new opportunities or "temptations" for further exploitation, for new channels of legalized robbery, for intenser and fiercer exploitation; increased exploitation brings about an increase in the number of the helpless, dependent, poor, disabled, degenerate, available slaves, reserve army of unemployed; this state of affairs, in its turn, brings about the self-multiplying capacity of capital, an increase in the capitalists' possibilities of living with impunity in idleness, luxury, thoughtlessness, debauchery, and a decrease in the honest man's possibilities of making a living by mere honest, productive work without taking refuge in some form of direct or indirect parasitism. Poverty and crime, and their sad attendants, may be due exceptionally, proximately, partially to physical or environmental causes and to subjective causes or personal vices; but the ultimate, first, main, fundamental cause of social evils and of the personal vices or diabilities themselves is human parasitism, selfishness, greed, exploitation (over-work, under-payment, deception, illtreatment, oppression, bad housing, congestion, monopolization, adulteration of food, etc.)

The parasitism of the poor (beggary, prostitution, vagrancy, extra-social crime) is an unavoidable accompaniment, nay, it is the direct result or effect of the parasitism of the rich, (exploitation, monopolization, usurpation, intra-social crime). As long as the rich parasites have the power to make men work for the mere daily bread, and even for less; as long as they have the power to make one man do the work of five men; as long as they can replace men by machines; as long as they can accumulate more wealth than they can use; as long as they can appropriate the land, the machines, the means of production; it is obvious that there must be an army of resourceless, homeless, unemployed men living from hand to mouth, tramps, beggars. The logical sequence between these

two kinds of parasitism is so obvious, so simple that it requires a good deal of selfishness, moral perversity, venality, self-sophistication, stultification not to see it. The aversion to labor shown by beggars is not the real or specific cause of undisguised beggary. We do not need the tests to which professional or sham charity puts the beggars by giving them positions or employment instead of alms, in order to prove their reluctance to work. These tests merely prove what we knew before, viz., that the beggars, like all the rest of us, shun hard, harmful, badly remunerated, despised, externally imposed labor, unless compelled to stick to it; but they do not prove in the least that mere laziness and inability are the causes of unemployment. We have merely to open our eyes in order to see that in our modern society there are more employment-seekers than places to be filled, that those employment-seekers are preferred who are not badly in need of work and have means of bribing the employment-giver, that the division of labor has been carried so far that almost no skill is needed. The problem of unemployment and of beggary can not be solved either by refusing alms to the beggars or by giving them work. As long as we tolerate the usurpation and parasitism of the rich, there can not be enough work for everybody, nor can the work be of such a nature as not to be shirked.

If vain, fame-seeking rulers and their mercenary panegyrists hate to busy themselves with the problem of unemployment and vagrancy, it is because they have no use for people deprived of votes, just as they would like—if it were not so unmodern—to extirpate the socialists on whose votes they can not count; it is because the pondering over such problems would land them into socialism and would put them on the outs with the voting majority; it is because the preoccupation with ideal, non-lucrative, unmodern, self-sacrifice demanding social movements does not lead to social prominence or to fame during one's life-time. Only when the unemployed and the tramps will be organized into a voting body will there arise some candidates for public offices who, in the hope of winning their votes, will discover all of a sudden what great love they had always harbored in their hearts, without fully realizing it before, for these unfortunate and wronged brothers, and will get busy appropriating any scheme that promises to solve the problem of unemployment.

Parasitism does not necessarily go together with idleness. The idle parasite—be he the rich idler living on income, or the poor idler living on alms—is the least dangerous and the least criminal. The dangerous parasite, the criminal *per excellentiam*, is the openly or disguisedly aggressive, active, born parasite or human beast of prey—be he rich and successful or poor and unsuccessful—who can not rest or feel contented until he has robbed others of the fruits of their manual or mental labor. He will never produce a thing so long as there is a ray of hope for him to get it from others who produce it; in fact, he is unable to produce, even if he wanted to. He will never learn and think out anything that he can give himself the appearance of knowing or that he can steal from born thinkers; in fact, he is incapable of learning and thinking out new ideas, even if he wanted. If he usually comes out successful, materially or politically, it is because he has never lost any time in honest, laborious, productive, unremunerative work; it is because he has steadily, relentlessly been on the lookout for a chance of getting something for nothing, much for little, the productions of others in exchange for

sham services and false promises. If he has sometimes a hard time and must work very hard—not productively, of course—before he can rob anybody of anything, it is because his victims happen to be impoverished or monopolized by other parasites, or because he has too many competitors who are more favorably situated, who are born into profitable or legalized thieving professions. It is a mistake on the part of some socialists and other reformers to lavish their pity indiscriminately on all underdogs, "down and out", unsuccessful, aborted parasites and would-be parasites; for servants, valets, subordinates, janitors are often even more snobbish, intolerant, convention-bound, capitalistically-minded, and therefore a greater obstacle to social reconstruction, than masters, employers, aristocrats, landlords. The only parasites to be pitied and to be considered as belonging to the toiling class are those poor devils who are driven by dire necessity against their own will into beggary, vagrancy, mercenary and parasitic professions.

Not all parasites are so fortunate as to have others do the preying and looting for them. The majority must do it themselves, and hence know of bitter struggles and saddening disappointments exactly like the poor who honestly struggle for a bare existence. If these struggles and disillusions do not touch our hearts, it is not because they are not a source of deep unhappiness for the parasites, but because *their* happiness spells *our* ruin, because their methods of seeking happiness makes for the degeneration and final destruction of mankind, because they find their happiness, joy, wealth, success, opportunity, liberty, leisure, pride, elevation, . . . in the unhappiness, suffering, impoverishment, failure, needs, enslavement, drudgery, humiliation, degradation, ... of others. We can not at the same time rejoice with the escaping sheep and sympathize with its disappointed pursuer, the wolf. We can not accept the parasites' method of action, for it means our annihilation, just as we can not accept their conceptions of life and society which involve us in stultifying self-contradiction and inconsistency: We can not, for instance, at the same time endorse their preaching of unselfishness, self-forgetfulness, self-sacrifice to workers and their stigmatizing as insanity, eccentricity, etc., the self-same qualities in moral geniuses, socialists, ideal leaders of the people; we can not without self-stultification join in their denunciation of the unemployed poor as unfit, inadaptable, etc., and see fitness, ability, merit in them who would perish of helplessness like newly-born babies if the poor on whose backs they ride, by whom they are fed, clothed, entertained, worshipped, would wake up from their hypnotic sleep and throw them over.

So long as our social institutions are infested with, owned or controlled and exploited for private gain by, pseudo-superior men or intellectual parasites; and so long as the few genuinely superior men who have managed to remain therein are too poor and hence tolerated on the condition that they do not interfere with, or betray, the real but hidden perverted use made of such institutions, and are threatened with being ostracized or thrown into the army of the unemployed if they try to take seriously their professed duty; so long there can be no hope for the salvation of the people. How, for instance, can we expect the individuality and natural interests of the child to be respected and taken account of in our public schools, which are ruled or controlled by politicians, and in which, therefore, the majority of the teachers themselves are philistines, that is, men and women devoid of all individuality, originality, intellectual needs or interests? How can we expect the rights of the people to be defended by a defenseless government

consisting of parasites and hirelings of the usurpers, exploiters, violators of the people's rights? How can pseudo-rulers rule if they are themselves mere marionettes pulled by strings by the hidden real rulers or plutocrats? How can we expect the contact with, and the companionship or conversation of, capital-supported pseudo-scientists to be instructive, edifying, thought-stimulating if they live by stealing and rehashing other people's ideas, and if they jealously keep to themselves the few original or pseudo-original ideas they happen to have in order to spread them out into sensational magazine articles and into lucrative sham investigations? How can we expect a social superior to acknowledge the merits of his social inferiors, and to deal with them sincerely and friendly, when he owes his position to assumed superiority, to simulated abilities, to reaping the credit due his subordinates; and when he in his turn is a slave, prey or intellectual prostitute of a higher placed parasite? How can we expect the solution of the problem of poverty and unemployment from employers who are in need of a reserve army of unemployed to serve as a scare-crow to discontented employees to be ready to work for any wages and to take the place of strikers under any risks; how, in short, can we expect justice and mercy from a predatory class that lives and thrives on injustice and cruelty? How can we expect enlightenment from parasites who live on our ignorance and superstitions; how can we expect cure from physicians who live on our diseases and fear of disease; how can we expect peace from our army and courts that live on our quarrels; in short, how can we expect any profession to finish its assigned tasks if it gets paid so long only as the task is not completed? How can we expect a rational, efficient cultivation of the earth so as to yield plenty of food for all if the arable land is in the hands of speculators or gamblers and if it is to the interest of these parasites to decrease the supply of food (by leaving the land uncultivated, by destroying, allowing to rot, storing away or dumping into the sea the surplus of foodstuffs; by not allowing the government to help the farmers to market their products and to found farm colonies for the unemployed; by not allowing the government to supply the farmers with the latest agricultural machines and improvements, etc.) so as to extort higher prices from a hungry population? The same sharks who extort high prices for commodities (food, shelter, . . .) that we are badly or urgently in need of, reduce the prices of useless commodities or luxuries (fashionable clothing, jewels, furniture, ...) in order to induce the people to buy, to vie with each other in increasing their possession of such luxuries. If they reduce these prices, they themselves do not make any sacrifice; for it is the ever cheapening labor of the expropriated people itself that makes this reduction in prices possible. By reducing the prices of luxuries or imitation-luxuries, these are brought within the reach or sphere of temptation and desire of the masses. Thus the masses are being robbed from both ends: their desires or wants are unnecessarily multiplied, intensified, whetted; and at the same time the means of gratifying their urgent, vital needs are taken away from them, and thereby the value of their labor is decreased, for only starving men or men detached from Mother Earth can be compelled to work for any wages under any deadly conditions.

Predatory parasites do not like, of course, to see their victims ponder over the cause of their misery, give vent to the worries and troubles that oppress their hearts, and freely complain about their hard lot; for such freedom of thought and

of speech would soon put an end to the exploiters' ill-gotten prosperity. But, since modern parasites can no longer afford to openly kill, persecute, imprison, ostracize the free-thinking, public-spirited, serious-minded individuals and to openly put a premium on stupidity, thoughtlessness, ignorance, credulity, blind, unquestioning or military obedience, they resort to the underhand method of blacklisting the so-called agitators; they resort to the indirect, disguised method of having their hirelings—the journalists, politicians, official preachers and educators, etc.—deal out to the masses mental narcotics, intoxicants, soporifics in the form of theological dope, revivalism or religious ecstasies and collective hypnotization, patriotic hot air and national megalomania, war scares, exciting news, etc.; they resort to the fraudulent method of tabooing independent, critical thinking by having their official and unofficial hirelings preach humor-worship, the cultivation of a happy disposition, the duty of learning to laugh, the cultivation of the habit of looking only at the good, bright or sunny side of life, etc., (which are euphemistic phrases for: hysteric enjoyment of laughter, stupid mimicking of happiness, carelessness of the future, shutting one's eyes to the evil perpetrated by human beasts of prey under cover of darkness, idiotic enjoyment of frivolousness, callousness to the general welfare, indifference to the higher aims of life), self-control (which, translated from the capitalistic lingo into plain, honest language, means: keep your troubles to yourself, do not complain when you are wronged by the predatory gangs, bear patiently the burden imposed upon you by the aristocratic parasites), the belief in human free will and in the existence of equal opportunities for all (which means: blame yourself if in the midst of plenty and of civilization you are worse off than a savage), reverence for law, order, discipline, authorities, traditions, precedents (which means: do not dare to do your own thinking, to question the wisdom and the motives of your self-appointed superiors; do not appeal to logic, common sense, or to the plain, commonly understood dictates of ethics, but abide by the arbitrary decisions of the usurpers of authority), the duty of defending our flag and country (which means: be prepared to be shot and to shoot down the foreign nations that refuse to allow themselves to be fleeced or to allow their country to be annexed by the propertied, commercial, predatory class of your own nationality), and other such stupefying, thought-paralyzing, mind-confusing doctrines.

(b) POVERTY, GREED, COMPETITION, VANITY.

Poverty (underfeeding, malnutrition, unsanitary housing, a harassed life, privations, worries, insecurity and similar irritations) kills out the weak, honest, self-respecting, noble-minded, sensitive, intellectual individuals among the poor, exploited, downtrodden, irregularly employed, and spares only those who are hardened, insensitive, materialistic, foxy, energetic, not averse to crime. But even these individuals would be honest in the absence of poverty; only, they would indulge in materialistic, bodily and lower intellectual pleasures. Poverty is also responsible for the prostitution of women, even of the born prostitutes, that is, of the congenitally hysterical, neurasthenic, lazy women; for in the absence of poverty even these women would abstain from prostitution, and would merely allow themselves a certain amount of laxity or inconstancy in their love affairs; moreover, it is the enervating or irritating effect of poverty or fear of poverty that is responsible for the birth of hysterical and neurasthenic subjects.

The existence of so many honest and kind-hearted people among the poor and of so many wicked, cruel, crooked specimens among the rich, does not prove anything against the contention that poverty breeds crime, anti-social propensities, and that hence the abolition of poverty, exploitation, economic dependence or insecurity will lead to the growth of morality, human solidarity. A closer analysis of human conditions and of human hearts shows us that the wicked rich are wicked not in spite of their living in comfort and security, but that they have grown rich or managed to maintain their wealth exactly because they are wicked, cruel, pitiless towards those whom they exploit; and as to the wickedness of those born to wealth and security, we must remember that theirs is a case of hereditary traits. Wealth, economic security, does not lead to the immediate atrophy of the criminal, anti-social impulses in all the children of upstarts; it does so in some of them or at least in the third generation. Likewise with poverty: if it does not incite every individual afflicted by it to dishonesty, egotism, rapacity, it arouses in him at least a desire for or a latent tendency towards crime, which in some of his children becomes an actual impulse, an instinct.

Poverty has certainly nothing to do with what is commonly called sexual immorality or sexual laxity, which is vastly older than economics and is but a manifestation of sexuality on its lowest, simian, purely sensual, polygamous plane, and is therefore found more often among the economically rapacious, greedy, well-to-do or parasitic classes than among the less greedy and more civilized poorer or working classes. But poverty has *everything* to do with the prostitution or commercialization of sexuality by that class of poor women who are either nervously too exhausted to bear the yoke of wage slavery or are too desirous of fine dresses, jewelry and other luxuries that are beyond the means of female wage slaves. That prostitution is also existent, nay, more often existent, among rich women, though in a refined, disguised form and from a desire for luxuries, hence at a much higher price, does not disprove in the least the above contention as to the causal nexus between poverty and prostitution. It only proves that the financially lower classes stand morally higher than the upper classes, and that poverty is a relative term: Whoever cherishes desires beyond his means of gratifying the same is poor, and therefore a rich woman may be comparitively poor if she craves for things beyond her means and must resort to prostitution in order to supplement the latter. And rich women being more apt to let their desires run amuck (owing to their inherited greed and to the absence of the sobering, steadying, restraining, counter-balancing influence of responsibility, employment, serious or higher aims of life), we understand why they furnish a larger quota of prostitution.

Necessity, want, or poverty, is not such a dangerous incentive to crime as greed or rapacity. To steal under the pressure of want, hunger, urgent needs, has a limit, a beginning and an end; whereas greed is by its very nature unquenchable, insatiable, it knows no limit and no moral scruples. Moreover, it is the greed of the wealth-accumulating, intra-social or within-the-law criminals that is ultimately responsible for the want and misery of the masses, which drives a small percentage thereof into the arms of extra-social crime.

Women, too, have their share in the perpetuation of crimes due to greed, particularly the women of the middle and upper classes of the so-called civilized nations. Their mania for luxury, fashionable dresses, jewelry, display of wealth, caste or artificial social distinctions, impels them to exploit, take advantage of,

and cruelly play upon men's sensuality, thus intensifying the greed of those who deem it their duty to minister to such low, anti-social aims of life.

Arduous and thorny is the path of the poor, even the path of idleness and criminality; for the poor criminal is not in a position to bribe and intimidate the guardians of law and order, the Church, the Press, the Government, as the rich do. Nay more, the rich can even bribe and fetter those whom they rob, and even command their gratitude, by returning to them in the form of charities, libraries, museums, bonuses, pensions, profit-sharing benefits, insurance, etc., an infinitesimal part of the spoils. The poor criminal can not afford to rob with the same impunity, in the same imperceptible, refined, systematic, devious ways as the capitalists do.

Extra-social crime or crime due to want need not worry any honest man who is really concerned with the welfare of mankind. For, in the first place, this kind of crime, being largely a result and necessary accompaniment of intra-social crime or exploitation, will disappear as soon as its cause will be extirpated, i. e., as soon as private ownership of the means of existence will be replaced by collective ownership and universal co-operation. And, in the second place, capitalism or commercial robbery relieves us of this worry: The exploiters know very well that they have to take a certain amount of extra-social crime into the bargain together with their criminal limitation of production and with the reserve army of unemployed of which they are badly in need; they see to it, however, that crime due to the sting of want and forced idleness, to the hopelessness of drudgery or honest toil, does not increase to any alarming extent and remains within the limits of the allowance made for this necessary expense. For this purpose, commercial robbery devises the harshest punishments for petty thefts; it employs as wardens and guards for prisons and reform schools beastly criminals who take a special delight in torturing the unfortunate victims entrusted to their care, until the latter either die or become docile tools afraid of their own shadow; under the guise of laws against vagrancy it practically destroys the last semblance of freedom of the disinherited. The millionaire tramp, who squanders the money robbed from the toilers on debauchery, on demoralizing ostentatiousness and bestial enjoyment, is allowed to go scot-free, nay, is honored and welcomed everywhere; whereas the poor idler, who takes it into his head to enjoy the beauties of Nature and the freedom of slow starvation rather than sell his freedom and work himself to death for the mere daily bread, is locked up for vagrancy and sent to the workhouse, where hired criminals under the mask of guards subject him to a worse slavery, drudgery and ill-treatment than that which he tried to escape: there he learns that there is no escape from wage slavery or from the clutches of commercial greed; there he learns that—although he has been told by his employers that he has no right to strike and picket, as he is perfectly free to quit his job if he is not satisfied with his wages or working conditions—he is actually just as little free to quit working as was the chattel slave.

The insecurity of livelihood or the fear for the future, from which civilized society is as yet much less able than primitive society to free its members, leads to greed, insatiable lust for money. And greed runs either into the moral channel of thrift, economy, saving, self-restraint, which may run to the extreme of miserliness, self-deprivation, stinginess, or into the anti-social channel of rapacity, active parasitism, depriving or robbing others of their possessions and of access to the means of existence, production or distribution. As a proof that insecurity

or fear of starvation is the primary cause of greed, is the fact that we read from time to time in the newspapers about millionaires obsessed or haunted, during their period of senile dementia, by the fixed idea that they are penniless starvelings; but we do not hear of poor men haunted by such fixed ideas, for they have as a rule more confidence in human charitableness or in their own willingness and ability to work for a living. The misers are usually recruited from the poor, the peasants, the toiling class, i. e., from those who are either too honest or too deprived of opportunities to increase their wealth by robbing others. Rapacious, predatory greed is found mostly among the rich, i. e., among those who either do not scruple or have the opportunity to rob others. It is surprising that the miser, who is rather a rare specimen and who harms no one but himself, should have been the object of pitiless ridicule and of moral condemnation; whereas rapacious greed, which is more common and highly anti-social, has been spared by satirists and moralists. If the miser were not harmless and exceptional, our mercenary moralists would not dare to attack him. The fact that no one has ever thought of taking up the cudgel in defense of the miser against the cruel ridicule to which he is unjustly subjected, is not so much a cause for surprise as a proof of how deeply steeped we are in the mire of the capitalistic double-faced moral code which never means what it preaches, which in this particular case, for instance, preaches thrift to the discontented, underpaid poor, but does not forget to immediately countermand its counsels: it ridicules real thrift by giving it the bad name of stinginess, for thrift would spoil the exploitation business if it became a general habit among working people. The miser may be passively altruistic, i. e., he likes his fellowmen, he does not mind helping them with advice or deeds, but his love for money does not allow him to part with it for the benefit of others; his fear of having to help others financially causes him to become unsociable, to deprive himself of human company. Whereas the predatory individual does not deprive himself of any pleasures, not even of sociability, which is rather a business asset or necessity to him; because he understands how to milk others without allowing himself to be milked or taken advantage of, because he understands how to simulate friendship and benevolence in words only, without going to the trouble of expressing it in deeds, still less in self-deprivation. The miser loves money on account of its potentialities, on account of the possible pleasure it may give him in the future, on account of the economic independence it affords him, freeing him from the deadly grip of the wicked, predatory individuals. Whereas the predatory individual loves money on account of the actual enjoyment he can buy therewith, and particularly because in civilized society it forms the most powerful weapon for exerting power over others, for tyrannizing, robbing, enslaving one's fellow-men, for robbing men of their self-respect and women of their chastity. The miser does not embelish or idealize his pursuit, but takes upon himself all the unpleasant consequences of his dominant passion: deprivation, scorn, misjudgment, loneliness, etc., Whereas the rapaciously greedy individual hides his financial speculation, profit-hunting or legalized robbery under the honest mask of thrift, wages of risk, reward of foresight, etc., and even under the noble mask of charitableness, generosity, of a provider of employment and relief.

In America and in England more than in any other country, for obvious selective reasons, does greed, rapacity, commercialism, capitalism dominate everybody and everything, men and women, adults and children. Its merci-

less intolerance of many-sidedness, free thinking, outspokenness, critical-mindedness, that is, of whatever harms its rapacious pursuits and unmasks its sordid motives hidden behind seemingly religious, philanthropic, patriotic enterprises, can not be detected by outsiders, and often not even by the victims themselves. Its intolerance, relentless persecution, undermining, and weeding-out of the higher types of men who stand in its path, is so tactful, circuitous, and so well covered up or disguised that the victims themselves think that they die a natural death or from accidental strokes of fate. And even if they suspect who their enemies are and what hidden traps the latter are laying, they do not dare to vent their suspicions, as this might precipitate their ruin, for the disguised beasts of prey are always prepared to crush whomever threatens to expose them by prosecuting him for libel, stigmatizing him as insane, ruining his reputation or otherwise. Commercialism, like the other forms of active parasitism, tolerates but two types of men: the stupid, hard-working, light-minded, cowardly, submissive, suggestible, imitative, easily intimidated, easily contented, success-worshiping philistines; and the mercenary, hypocritical, self-seeking, mammon-worshiping, intellectually prostituted pseudo-superior men who are ready to serve as accomplices of the exploiters under the guise of managers, superintendents, foremen, overseers, legal advisers, ministers, educators, labor leaders, public officials, journalists, professional moralists, official scientists, etc. All the intermediate and higher types are mercilessly crushed out of existence, that is, they are driven to unemployment, starvation, vagrancy, rebellion, despair. For this reason the moral (and also intellectual) level of the masses in England and America and of their leaders, even in supposedly moralizing movements, is lower than in less predatory or more agricultural countries. For the same reason, in no other country is there so little genuine solidarity, revolutionary spirit, public-mindedness, democracy or socialism and such an appalling uniformity of types as in England and especially America: There is hardly any difference between the business man, clergyman, preacher, college professor, educator, journalist, reformer, politician; in fact, one and the same individual can embrace all these professions at the same time or in succession, not because he is versatile, many-sided or adaptable, but because in reality all these professions reduce themselves to commercialism pure and simple and require only the ability of self-advertizement as well as the ability of combining flattery with refined, veiled blackmailing: when going over from one profession to another he does not have to become converted or to change his nature: all he has to change is the commodity he intends to sell or impose upon the public.

Commercial rapacity, capitalism, presses into its service the Government, the Church, the Press, the School and other public institutions. It expects them to further or shield its robberies and to remain inactive in any other respect, or, if inactivity begins to grow tiresome and to tell on their nerves, to display as much energy as they want in making fuss about nothing or in making and unmaking unneccessary, formal, trivial changes of administration or in conducting useless, pseudo-scientific, pseudo-social investigations, or in covertly fighting among themselves provided they do not carry their fight too far.

A glimpse into one of the innumerable ways in which the commercially greedy individuals, the capitalists, use with impunity their own and even foreign governments, as well as the other social organs, for their sordid purposes, without shrinking from murder if necessary, is afforded us, for instance, by the following ex-

tracts from Mr. A. Hyatt Verrill's work on "South and Central America Trade Conditions of To-Day": "If the truth must be told, the revolutions (in Spanish America) are not infrequently financed by American or European capital and instigated by some foreigner for purely personal financial benefit. If a firm or individual wants a concession and can't obtain it from the government in power, it often pays to upset that particular administration, back another aspirant for the presidency with arms and cash and in return for thus boosting the usurper receive the desired concession. . . . . Behind more than one devastating Spanish-American revolution lurks the unseen, unknown capitalist or promoter who sits safely in his New York office and blusters about the uncivilized "greasers" and howls for intervention."

The slogans "a business government", "less government in business and more business in government", and the like, simply mean that the business or predatory social elements are bent upon tightening their control or ownership of the government and to press it still more into their service than their forefathers did, who merely clamored for a "laissez faire" government, that is, a government that would not interfere with their looting business as long as they allowed it to get its share of the spoils.

The candidates for capitalism are recruited from among the congenitally a-moral and immoral individuals, from among the greedy and astute. The competitive struggle for existence selects such individuals for success, and makes them still worse than they are. Only their descendants in the second or third generation, being protected against the inexorable competitive struggle for existence and being less influenced by heredity, lose this detestable parvenu-character, for "sublata causa, tollitur effectus". If the mean character of the parvenus were merely acquired during the struggle for wealth, and not partly inborn, we could not understand why their children who follow so little their teachings in other respects should have the same sordid character although they never knew from personal experience what hopeless striving, what uncertainty of existence means; for acquired mental traits are not so easily transmitted through inheritance. But, on the other hand, to explain the disappearance of egotism, greediness, predacity, astuteness, in the grandchildren of parvenus, we must admit that these characteristics have no deep anatomical basis and that their physiological basis is often too frail to persist long under favorable circumstances.

Greediness, insatiableness, rapacity, acquisitiveness, is ultimately due to intense and painful feelings of economic insecurity that have been experienced either by the greedy individual himself or by his ancestors. Privation, want or poverty, and particularly the fear of its recurrence or the feeling of economic instability, gives rise to greed, rapacity, exploitation of the masses, which in its turn increases the general state of relative poverty and of economic insecurity or instability; and this intensified economic insecurity leads to an intensification of greed, establishing thus a dangerous vicious circle. Our social organization affords so little opportunity for earning a decent living by means of honest work, and affords so little real sympathy, help and hope of rising again to the men who happen to lose their money or position that we need not be surprised at the universal reign of greed, or lust for gold, as under our anarchic, individualistic re-

gime, money, wealth, property is the only means of acquiring security, independence, peace, power, influence.

If the modern capitalists, in distinction from ancient slave-holders and medieval serf-owners, and if Europe and America, is distinction from Asia and Africa with their cheap and abundant labor, welcome the invention of labor-saving machinery, it is not, as Ferrero sets forth in his "Ancient Rome and Modern America", because modern civilization is mechanical-scientific (an explanation which reduces itself to a mere tautology), and modern men are unappreciative of quality, eager for quantity, more desirous of luxuries and extravagance, and have too many needs (an explanation which mistakes the effects of machine-production for its cause), whereas the Greco-Roman civilization was artistic, and the ancients loved a simple life, appreciated quality, consumed little and hence had no need to produce much by means of machines. Ferrero's explanation is far-fetched, seemingly profound, verbose, but unfortunately untrue, devoid of meaning and mind-confusing. The simple reason why the modern exploiter is so greedy, so eager to replace human labor by machines and to get rich quick is because he lives in insecurity; his only weapon is money which, unlike the capital of ancient exploiters (i. e., land), is perishable and must be constantly renewed; and because his victims, the wage-slaves, unlike the chattel-slaves, serfs, poor Asiatics and Africans, must be paid in coin, that is, with part of the master's very weapons, do not minister directly to their exploiter's personal needs but only indirectly by producing commodities salable at a profit, are just as much detached from Mother Earth and hence just as much haunted by economic insecurity and just as much harassed by competition as their masters, and, owing to their freedom of locomotion, to their organization into compact bodies, they are more unruly, more unmanageable, that is, harder to exploit and a greater source of trouble or of financial loss to their masters than were the slaves and serfs. In short, what Ferrero tries to cover under the vague terms "quality" and "quantity" is explained in our unpretentious theory by the economic security of a regime based upon agriculture, domestic industries, the possession of land and slaves or serfs attached thereto, and by the insecurity of a regime based upon manufacture and commerce. Our theory substitutes the very prosaic and commonly understood words "security" and "greed" in the place of the high-sounding but vague words "quality" and "quantity".

VANITY

Vanity, the craving for social recognition or popularity, the desire to be admired by one's contemporaries, is not immoral in itself, and, if the person afflicted therewith is favored by opportunity, it does not impel him to direct, active immorality; but since it requires too much time and patience to acquire qualities that command admiration or social recognition, since the masses are not yet so advanced as to be able to appreciate such qualities, since it is easier to acquire the external appearance than to acquire the kernel of good qualities, and since ordinarily the vain individual is not placed in such a conspicuous position as to be spontaneously noticed by the people, it follows that vanity is a fruitful source of immorality—if not of active immorality or crimes of commission, then of passive immorality or crimes of omission; if not of ecnonomic immorality, then of intellectual immorality or indirectly economic immorality. The vain individual can not afford really to fight, condemn and expose living immoral classes, insti-

tutions, or individuals; for he is anxious to be held in high esteem by everybody, and because it is this kind of people that manufacture history, mould public opinion and offer themselves as panegyrists and advertizing agents of those who aspire to fame, confer titles and honors upon vain money-bags or glory hunters, and, in exchange for more or less disguised pecuniary compensations, raise our criminal financial rulers to the dignity of benefactors of mankind. Whoever has the ambition to be in the limelight, to pose as a ruler, legislator, judge, oracle, hero, and to be stared at by admiring crowds, must divest himself of all spontaneity or naturalness and frankness of manner, of all nobler sentiments and of all self-respect, if he ever had any, and degrade himself to the role of a tool, an accomplice, a marionette that gesticulates, makes noise, acts and dances only when directed or pulled by invisible wires by the political stage managers or predatory gangs hidden behind the scenes.

Vanity, greed, the lust for power, the love of luxury, being by their very nature insatiable and monopolistic or unwilling to share with others the objects of their pursuit, cause much more crime, intellectual and bodily prostitution, fraud, unhappiness than do hunger and poverty which require very little to be appeased. We do not need tangible facts or so-called legal evidence in order to declare a vain or popularity-seeking individual dishonest or at least intellectually dishonest. For popularity, i. e., the favor and admiration of the intellectually blind, unappreciative, fickle masses, can be gotten only by self-advertizing, self-exhibition, noise-making; through hired panegyrists, fraud, alliance with successful parasites and institutions, deception; by cultivating or hunting after appearances and neglecting realities, essential and vital matters; through conventionalization or mechanization of action, speech, manners; and similar tricks. We do not need any legal evidence to become convinced that a working girl who is fond of luxuries (jewelry, fashionable dresses, etc.) can get them only by prostitution; for we know that salaries and wages never rise much above the minimum living expenses, whereas luxuries, by their very definition, are material objects beyond the reach of the many.

Honest material pursuits can not always share their objects, but they are satiable. Intellectual pursuits, on the other hand, are insatiable, but they are socialistic, i. e., capable and eager to share with others their objects which are individual additions to the socially inherited knowledge, beauty, sources of general happiness. Whereas dishonest, criminal, anti-social material pursuits are both insatiable and monopolistic or unwilling to share the objects which are collectively produced.

The exploitation of men's material needs and disadvantages, the greed or rapacity of upstarts and would-be capitalists, either disappears gradually in the descendants whose life-path has been made smooth, thus liberating the energy which in the ancestors was withdrawn from other channels to be pressed into the service of base, materialistic pursuits: this liberated energy flows back into the various channels of human activity, into the neglected channels of higher, intellectual, artistic or moral, pursuits, to be spent in an harmonious development of body and soul. Or—in the case of incurable advanced atrophy, degeneration, obstruction of these neglected progressive channels—the greed of the ancestors becomes metamorphosed in the descendants into the equivalent abnormality of

flirtatiousness, Don Juanism, libertinism, debauchery, sexual perversion, insatiable sensuality, insatiable, cruel, selfish conquest-making among individuals of the opposite sex, preying upon love and sexual weaknesses. Or greed yields to, makes room for, becomes metamorphosed into—if it was not already originally associated with—vanity, fame-seeking, hunting for popularity, exhibitionism, self-aggrandizement, self-advertizing, striving for the monopolization or ownership of the people's souls, affections, esteem, attention, sources of information. Both greed and vanity—including flirtatiousness, which is either sexual greed or sexual vanity—treat men as pieces of property to be taken away from others, as tools for personal and selfish gratification towards which they have no duties: greed aims at the monopolization or ownership of the people's bodies, labor power, material products, means of existence; vanity aims at the monopolization or ownership of the people's souls, affections, esteem, spiritual products, sources of information. Even honest individuals possess inherited or acquired traces of parasitical greed and vanity, especially during the period of childhood; but with growing maturity of mind and body they gradually succeed in ridding themselves thereof, they react against the causes and effects of the same (competition, insecurity, etc.), and begin to strive merely for co-operatively and self-earned wealth, for deserved, freely given esteem, for disinterested and self-rewarding social usefulness, for knowledge as an end-in-itself and as an instrument for general uplift.

Economic greed and vanity are contemptible, anti-social, regressive human attributes, as they can be gratified only at other people's expense; whereas intellectual greed, the insatiable desire for knowledge, is a socially useful, progressive quality, manifestation of man's inborn aspiration towards ever higher goals, towards freedom from the bonds of finiteness and of bodily limitations, towards the expansion of the soul beyond the boundaries of the narrow actual environment, towards a life rich in adventure and with room for unlimited hopes.

COMPETITION

Competition, in distinction from productive cooperation or human solidarity, means every one for himself, robbery under the guise of rendering or exchanging services; disguised warfare, association of men into gangs for the purpose of preying upon the producers of wealth. Under such a system unscrupulousness, cruelty, vindictiveness, lawlessness have full sway provided they wear the mask of respectability, philanthropy, morality; the administration of justice, the protection of the wronged and the enforcement of the law are likewise in the hands of gangs secretly allied with the predatory gangs; no wonder, therefore, that the honest masses have learned their lesson and, instead of seeking justice, allow the cruel and vindictive individuals to have their own way, to usurp undeserved honors, undeserved prominent and lucrative positions. Competition offers to the atavistical, aggressive, deceitful, predatory type of men the opportunity of thriving at the expense of the progressive, peaceful, honestly working type.

Many an open-eyed and public-spirited man comes to see sooner or later the disastrous effects upon the general welfare resulting from the toleration of competition, private enterprise, economic insecurity, commercialism, in his own profession, and advocates therefore its nationalization or incorporation into the sphere of governmental activity. But when the more far-sighted and more broad-hearted socialist comes along and synthesizes all these fragmentary views into a

comprehensive, general indictment against the competitive, *laissez faire*, individualistic system in all its ramifications, and advocates the nationalization of all professions, he stirs up a storm of protest among the very same men who advocate the nationalization of their own profession. Likewise, if the socialist dares to tell us that under our competitive regime success in all walks of life is reaped by charlatans, by worthless specimens of humanity, he is decried as a blasphemer, a pessimist, an envious and morose individual. But please take each profession separately and inquire among the public-spirited individuals in each profession as to the qualities that lead to success, and you will hear the very same things that the socialist tells you about success in general. Thus Mr. Benjamin Moore, in his eloquent advocacy of a national medical service ("The Dawn of the Health Age") speaks as follows about success in the medical profession: "Another crying evil of our present system is the multitude of extraneous things, not related to professional skill in the remotest degree, which are necessary and make for success in the profession. It is often well known to his brother practitioners that the highly successful doctor, who has the largest and best paying practice in the town or district, is by no means the best physician or surgeon in it. In fact, he is often little better than a well-qualified quack, who knows how to play on the feelings and sentiments of the laymen upon whose bodies he practises, because of the subtle influence he possesses over their minds. The man who succeeds in general private practise is he who can best please the ladies, and who, by an affable exterior and calm pose of face, can hide the profound ignorance within his cranium, while his neighbor with tenfold the ability, but an abstracted or brusque manner, and without the social art of pleasing, gets little or nothing to do."

If the above is an example of an explicit condemnation of the competitive or commercial system and of a remedy for its evil effects, we find in Bahaism—the Asiatic counterpart of Quakerism—an implicit condemnation and a measure for the prevention of its emergence. Baha 'u' llah, the broad-hearted apostle of this universal religion, knew very well that the decay of all religious and other ideal movements was due to their commercialization or exploitation by competing grafters, who always thrive, not on the vital, positive, ethical, easily understood teachings, but on the dazzling, mind-confusing formalities, ceremonies, liturgical practises. For this reason, Baha 'u' llah did not confine himself to merely laying stress upon the spirit of religion, upon the substitution of ethical action for mere belief, lip-service, prayer, but he also expressly forbade the formation of a sacerdotal caste. He does not rest contented with laying stress upon the fact that "Religion should help union and harmony between people and should not become a cause of dissension and hypocrisy", but he also warns his disciples against anything, far or near, that might resemble a priesthood: "You are forbidden to mount the pulpit. He who wishes to sing for you the verses of his Lord, let him be seated in a place on the divan, and let him mention God, his Lord and the Lord of beings." (See, "The Universal Religion, Bahaism", by H. Dreyfus). As a truly universal, ethical, love-radiating religion, Bahaism tolerates individual differences in opinion; for it is not these unavoidable differences that lead to schisms: if it were so, then every believer ought to constitute a sect by himself. Schisms or competing sects spring from the greed or vanity of parasitical gangs which, while justifying their secession from the mother-organization on the ground of the existing differences, turn into the most merciless

persecutors of newly arising differences which threaten to undermine their own graft. But if it was comparatively easy for Baha 'u 'llah to prevent greed and vanity from carrying on their evil deeds under the cloak of his religion, by bringing it back within the reach of the people, that is, by freeing it from all hocus pocus which confuses the minds of the people and which is the only stock-in-trade of ecclesiastical grafters; the only remedy against the evils of competition in other professions, which, even if freed from their fraudulent practises and dazzling formalism, still require some amount of special training and education, lies in their nationalization.

(c) LAZINESS, LIGHT-MINDEDNESS, IMPULSIVENESS.

Every normal man likes to enjoy his life, to act according to his own will, to indulge in laziness and revery from time to time, to gratify his moral and bodily desires; but he pins his happiness on permanent values. Whereas the criminal and the criminaloid enjoy their life at the expense of others, obey authorities either blindly or not at all, act from mere impulse like animals, indulge irregularly in prolonged excesses of laziness, gratify their bodily needs to the exclusion and at the expense of moral or intellectual needs which are either undeveloped or completely atrophied in them; they pin their happiness on momentary pleasures; they have stronger, more imperious, more impulsive and more auto-intoxicating desires than the average moral man, and if they happen to have the means of gratifying the same our plutolatrous jurists, criminologists and psychiatrists do not find anything wrong with them.

Both the crafty, cautious, intra-social, well-to-do, "unmugged" criminals and the violent, uncautious, extra-social, poor, "mugged" criminals are equally light-minded, vain, vindictive, impulsive, irrepressibly fond of luxuries, comforts and pleasures. The main differences between them are the richer opportunities of the former of preying with impunity upon the honest toiling masses, and the greater courage, frankness, desire to "square it" (i. e., to return to an honest life) of the latter. The poor criminal, as can be seen from the works of Josiah Flynt, Mrs. Booth, Miss W. L. Taylor, Miss M. Z. Doty, T. M. Osborne, etc., is seldom congenitally immoral: he would not engage in a criminal career if he had any opportunity of rising to a higher, that is, a more privileged social class or of living comfortably by means of honest work. Whereas the well-to-do criminal is congenitally immoral: he robs, not because he is compelled to do so, but because he has the opportunity of robbing without being detected, or without being suspected, owing to his social rank, attractive appearance, wealth, outward refinement, etc. The former frankly acknowledges the wrong he does to society, often regrets it and desires to be in a position to discontinue it; whereas the latter remorselessly persists in his parasitical life, hypocritically glorifies and idealizes it. Moreover, the extra-social criminals form but a small percentage of the poor toiling class from whose midst they arise; whereas the intra-social criminals constitute the greatest part, if not the whole, of the well-to-do class to which they belong and in whose midst they meet with admiration, honor, friendship as long as they are successful and publicly undetected.

The intra-social, hypocritical or disguised criminals in general, and politicians in particular, in order to be successful, must be endowed by Nature with a winning, smiling, innocent and kind-looking, confidence-inspiring face, with soft

manners, a winning, musical voice, with the gift of mimicking honesty and kind-heartedness. Only the unsuccessful, extra-social, frankly criminal individuals betray in their physiognomies their wicked propensities; nay, what we often interpret as a physiognomical expression of a criminal nature, of inborn brutality, rapacity, bloodthirstiness, perversity, is merely the expression of a hunted and hounded animal: it is a mere expression of disgust, despair, revolt, fear, resentment, due to hopeless struggling, to ill-treatment, to the irritation of inescapable poverty and slavery into which they find themselves born, to their being hunted down, preyed upon, harassed and thwarted in their attempts at reform by policemen and detectives.

In short, the extra-social or underworld criminal, as a rule, takes to crime from light-mindedness, impulsiveness, or under the pressure of necessity, want, fear, suggestion, provocation, lack of opportunities; whereas the intra-social or upper-world criminal indulges his predacious, criminal pursuits whole-heartedly, deliberately, voluntarily, joyfully, remorselessly, or under the pressure of greed, vanity, instinctive cruelty.

(d) PROFESSIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL IMMORALITY.— Class Struggle and Struggle Between Moral Types.

Dishonesty may be professional, institutional, social, legalized, circumstantial, collective, acquired, or individual, inborn. Some professions originated in dishonesty, selfishness, parasitism, and owing to the slowness of human progress have not yet overcome this original taint (medicine, the government, the army, police, politics, commerce, financial speculation, etc.). Other institutions and professions started by being useful to the community; but economic dependence, unreasonable demands on the part of the people, the corrupting influence of capitalism, and the lack of moral leaders, have caused them to degenerate into dishonest, materialistic, mercenary professions (the law courts, journalism, educational and charitable institutions, etc.). Some professions (such as peddlers, retail merchants) become dishonest because they can not keep pace with the demands of the public. Intellectual dishonesty predominates in the liberal professions, and economic dishonesty in the technical professions. Professional dishonesty is transmitted through tradition, imitation, suggestion; individual dishonesty is transmitted through physiologico-psychical heredity. The purely professionally dishonest man, the man born or pushed into a dishonest profession or into a parasitic social class, is unconscious of his dishonesty. Outside of his profession he may be a very good-natured, merciful, tolerant, disinterested man; but as an insignificant cog in the gigantic professional machinery he is blindly, irresistibly dragged along by the whirling, buzzing infernal machinery. The instinctively moral individual may become slightly dishonest in his profession if he has no fair play and has to care for parents, wife or children; he may reluctantly prefer a parasitic profession to honest work which, as a rule, is poorly remunerated (and therefore despised) because its usefulness is too tangible or too obvious to lend itself to fraudulent exaggeration or to leave room for false hopes. Men of individual, inborn dishonesty are dishonest even if they happen to be born into favorable circumstances, even if they enjoy fair play and follow a profession which does not necessitate, or does not leave much room for, dishonesty (teaching, skilled and unskilled labor, etc.); and if the profession calls

for dishonesty, lying, empty promises, they always overstep the limit, thus compelling their more honest confreres to keep pace with them unless they prefer to starve or to remain unsuccessful. Since it is hard for an honest man to stay long or to succeed in a parasitic, dishonest profession without detriment to his moral integrity or character, we may say that, as a rule, a man's moral character may be largely inferred from his profession, in accordance with the rule layed down by economic determinism: "Tell me what you are doing for a living and I will tell you who you are."

The congenitally predatory, commercially-minded, military, despotic individual keeps alive the hierarchic system or the artificial class distinctions based upon wealth, hereditary titles or other unearned privileges: he treats his fellowmen differently according to their wealth, influence, reputation, social rank and connections, prospects, etc., that is, according to the harm he fears and the benefits he expects from them in return for his behavior towards them. Whereas the congenitally honest, kind-hearted, democratic or socialistic individual has no use and very little understanding for artificial class distinctions; he treats every one disinterestedly, kindly, fairly, and is only too glad to be able to be useful to others regardless of their ancestry, position, rank, ability or intention to reciprocate favors. He respects men for their merits and character, and not for their rank, position, wealth.

The born liar, bluffer, impostor, exploiter unscrupulously and deliberately lies, bluffs, cheats, exploits and tyrannizes as long as he does not meet with any obstacles or resistance, that is, when he meets with confident, credulous, unwatchful, unwary, submissive victims, or, as he prefers to put it, with temptations; and only necessity, compulsion, the watchfulness and resistance of the public, the exposure of his schemes by agitators, can make him behave or refrain from indulging his anti-social, predatory, man-hunting proclivities. Whereas the born honest, sincere, truthful individual may regretfully and reluctantly take to lying and cheating when he is compelled thereto by economic dependence and insecurity, or when his frank, honest, well meaning behavior meets with obstacles and resistance in the form of distrust, doubt, misunderstanding, willful misrepresentation, persecution, exploitation; but he is glad to return to the less lucrative and less glorious life of honesty and truth as soon as the pressure of necessity, circumstances, compulsion, economic dependence relaxes its grip on his soul. The existence of the congenitally predatory type of men, always on the alert to prey upon, to take advantage of, and to enslave, the unwary or the defenseless, is implied in such time-honored sayings or admonitions as "Eternal vigilance is the price of safety and liberty"; "*Si vis pacem para bellum*", "*Caveat emptor*", "One man's need is another man's opportunity", "To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath", etc. Such sayings will lose their meaning and become incomprehensible under a socialistic regime under which all men will be equally protected and will no longer have to shift each for himself at his own risk and peril, as they do nowadays under our disguisedly predatory regime, which is euphemistically called individualistic, competitive, etc.

Owing to the inheritance of wealth, privileges, opportunities, and even of professions, as well as to the difference in men's circumstances or social-physical environment, the class struggle, that is, the struggle between exploiters and producers, which originated in the struggle between the above characterized two main

moral types of men, that is, between the born predatory and the born altruistic or fair-minded individuals, has become something distinct from, although intertwined and at many points coinciding with, the struggle between the two antithetic moral types—a struggle, by the way, in which the born producer is merely on the defensive. The struggle between the two main moral types is no less fierce when the born parasite, despot, power-seeker, or privilege-hunter happens to be the master than when he happens to be an underdog or the yoke-fellow of the congenitally democratic, fair-minded, broad-hearted, producing individual. In the latter case he will try no less than in the former case to subjugate his comrade, to shift the burden of work on to his shoulders and, if he meets with resistance, he will avail himself of the least opportunity to undermine or oust his comrade. Whereas the congenitally broad-hearted individual, even if he has to earn a living as exploiter, employer, overseer or slave-driver, will lighten the burden of the exploited as far as it lies in his power. The struggle between the parasitic, self-seeking, despotic, individualistic type and the productive, unselfish, socialistic or democratic type goes on, strange to say, within the very social movement whose mission it is to put a stop to the class struggle. One of the main objects of my Ethics is to call attention to the fact that it is just as imperative to attend to this struggle of moral types as it is to strive for the abolition of the struggle between social classes; this inner struggle between the so-called conservatives, opportunists, professionals or wolves in sheep's clothing inside the fold and the radicals, enthusiasts, volunteers, sincere, disinterested, uncompromising socialists must not be neglected or underestimated while carrying on the fight against the outside enemies, against the capitalists and their retainers, against the wolves outside the fold, for otherwise the whole battle will have been fought in vain, that is to say, Socialism will end in the same bitter disillusionment as did the reforms, uprisings and revolutions of the past, which merely dethroned one kind of oppressors to enthrone a new and often worse kind: the very class of self-seekers who pretend to fight the battle of the masses in reality use the latter as tools to gain power and privileges for themselves, and therefore keep down, persecute or expel their far-sighted, critical comrades in the name of discipline, the need for inner solidarity, etc., that is, in the name of the very same sophistical reasons which are invoked against them and against all progressive movements by exploiters, rulers, parasites.

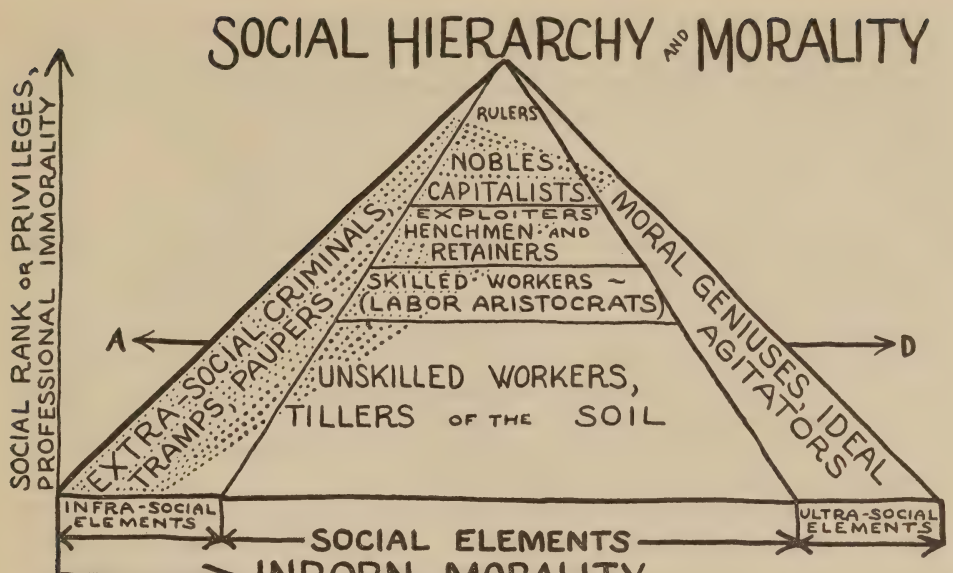
Circumstantial immorality means immoral, cruel, selfish, parasitical, fraudulent acting under the compulsion of circumstances and of the most elemental requirements of general human instincts (self-preservation, preservation of progeny). Such immoral acting nobody can condemn; for it occurs exceptionally, unintentionally, reluctantly, half-heartedly, compulsorily, and has no far-reaching socially harmful consequences. And even if such acting becomes socially harmful by becoming habitual or routine work (as in the case of over-seers who are employed by financial speculators for the purpose of exploiting their own more unfortunate brothers,) we still find some excuse for such mercenary immoral acting, as long and in so far as it is prompted by the pressure of circumstances, by the whip of our modern slave-holders; for men who are compulsorily bad and cruel, are not yet entirely and incurably corrupted, and are easily amenable to a socially useful life, when the external compulsion is removed, when the day-

light of Truth comes to dehypnotize them and to recall them to their true nobler selves. But to excuse the capitalists, employers, financiers, self-seekers for their greed and cruel exploitation of the poor on the ground that "the system" or circumstances allow them to do so, on the ground that the masses are helpless, offer themselves as an easy prey and want to be fooled (*populus vult decipi*), on the ground that the general respect for wealth stimulates their vanity and sharpens their greed, on the ground that they have the power and opportunity to exploit the starving masses, is certainly an undue extension of the concept "circumstantial immorality". To be immoral out of mere vanity, laziness, unquenchable greed, because of having the power or opportunity (social rank, wealth, confidence-inspiring physiognomy, a good reputation, etc. . . . .), is rather inborn, individual, incurable immorality that society can not afford to excuse or to tolerate, without hopelessly undermining itself. I must disagree with the American Socialists, when they deal so leniently with the capitalists, and throw all the blame for the wide-spread heart-rending human miseries on the competitive system, on circumstances, on human society as a whole, as if all men were equally rapacious, as if competition could not go together with fairness, as if the trusts which have made themselves independent of competition were less predatory than competing corporations. In the face of the immense power, evil influence, demoralizing honors, luxuries, pleasures enjoyed by the rich idlers, it is a sacred duty to preach contempt—if not hatred—for such dangerous monsters, and to openly stigmatize them—particularly the initiators, innovators, upstarts or parvenus—as born criminals and moral imbeciles. I, for one, can not hate anybody from personal reasons; but as a member of human society who can not help seeing and taking to heart the sufferings of mankind caused by private wealth, I consider it my duty and the duty of all honest men to openly question the moral character of, and to throw opprobrium upon, the owners, the seekers, and defenders of unearned, interest-bearing private wealth.

Competition is not a force or some other entity, existing apart from and outside of human society, which compels all men to be selfish, greedy, unscrupulous, immoral. Competition in itself is not a productive cause of immorality: It merely offers free play and opportunities to the already existing immoral individuals. It is the dishonest competitors who compel the honest to adopt their dishonest methods. But these honest followers of dishonest methods do not deserve to be entirely exonerated from all blame, for it is their duty to protest against and to undermine a system which they are compelled to adopt. If Socialism preaches against competition and against class monopoly, it is not because there is no possibility of creating a fair competition and a humane monopoly, but because all controlling and regulating agencies that may be invented for this purpose are exceedingly difficult, expensive, wasteful, inefficient, prosaic, easily evaded, bribed or overthrown; whereas cooperation or collective production and ownership is the safest, cheapest, most efficient, most ideal and morally uplifting method.

SOCIAL HIERARCHY AND MORALITY

The following figure shows that each social class consists of a certain proportion of congenitally moral individuals (unshaded part) and of a certain proportion of congenitally immoral individuals (shaded part). The percentage of the congenitally fair-minded and kind-hearted decreases as we rise from the most oppressed



social class, the toiling class, to the top of the social pyramid, where it increases again. If we rise above the dividing line between the class of skilled workers and the class of mercenary philistines, we note an increase in professional, traditional, legally protected immorality, that is, an increase in the opportunities for unpunished evil, oppression, parasitism, disregard of the vital or fundamental needs of mankind, self-aggrandizement at the expense of the lives and happiness of the many, indulgence in anti-social egomania, megalomania, self-adoration; whereas from this line downwards we note an increase in social pressure or in economic insecurity which drives to immorality and which stifles all intellectual growth, all the higher aspirations that differentiate men from beasts. From the so-called lower social classes (mercenary philistines, workers, peasants) there spring, on the one hand, the infra-social elements (paupers, tramps, extra-social criminals) and, on the other hand, the ultra-social elements (moral geniuses, ideal revolutionists, unprofessional agitators and labor leaders, etc.). The former pull towards primeval chaos or anarchy (A); the latter, towards real democracy (D). From the middle and upper classes (predatory, commercial, would-be aristocratic and aristocratic philistines) there arise, on the one hand, the intellectual prostitutes, morally pseudo-superior men or capitalistic retainers (journalists, lawyers, educators, professional philanthropists, moralists, preachers, reformers, politicians) and, on the other hand, the morally semi-superior men (unprofessional philanthropists, reformers, ideal statesmen, etc.). The intellectual prostitutes consciously and unscrupulously prop up the predatory regime, of which they are the indirect beneficiaries; whereas the morally semi-superior men are unconscious of the support they lend to our iniquitous regime by trying to mitigate or rather cover up its evil effects and by keeping up the illusion that the tottering social edifice can be strengthened from the top downwards.

The fact that congenital kind-heartedness predominates both among the most oppressed, who have so few needs that they are not much affected by economic fluctuations or uncertainty, and among the aristocrats, "those to the manner

born", who do not need to struggle for either bread or honor and who are rich and grow richer through no fault of their own—this fact, I say, proves that kind-heartedness renders men unfit for success under our predatory regime and that economic security favors the blossoming of altruistic or moral sentiments in men's hearts.

(e) MYSTICISM AND IMMORALITY

Nebulous, mystical views and doctrines exert no guiding influence upon the behavior of their upholders. Hence we can not tell the moral character of a nebulous thinker from his writings; for the vaguer or mistier his thoughts and opinions, the more unstable they are, the more divorced from his motor tendencies, the readier to lend their nominal support to any course of action: to saintliness and still more to crime, to a harmless or merely self-undermining pastime and still more to charlatanism, to a parasitic life rather than to an honest career; for honesty does not stand in need of any justification, nor does it stand in need of hiding itself behind a dark, opaque, loose garment. Moreover, the intellectual perversion or rather inversion of theologians, mystics, platonists, spiritualists or philosophical idealists—which makes them see mere shadows, symbols, ideas in matter, objects, or realities, while mere words, abstractions, symbols, numbers, dreams, concepts, mind appear to them as persons, objects, concrete realities, forces, material things, and makes them mistake metaphors, allegories, parables, figures of speech for literal truth, facts, real occurrences, while plain speech and actual happenings appear to them as mere surface indications of deeper, hidden meanings—tends to bring in its train a similar perversion or inversion in the moral field, which manifests itself in the overestimation of unessentials, the objectification of imaginary evils, on the one hand, and in the neglect of essentials, denial of real evils and needs, disregard of human rights, life and happiness, on the other hand. In fact, we hear of religious mystics who justify their murders on the ground that the murdered husband, wife or child was too good for this world; we hear of mystical would-be philanthropists who do not see any reason why we should assist poor people and thus retain them in this vale of tears, instead of letting them starve or die, thus accelerating their entrance into the happy spiritual world; we hear of cruel, self-seeking, predatory individuals, who justify their cruelties by appealing to a mystical, vague interpretation or rather distortion of Darwinian principles of selection, struggle for existence, survival of the fit, etc.; we hear of more greed for money or worldly goods among spiritualists, who make so much fuss about the so-called eternal, invisible world of spirits, projecting into it their own nothingness, obsessions and petty-mindedness, than we hear of among the great mass which makes less fuss about the spiritual life; we see that the religious mysticism of the English speaking race does not mitigate in the least their greedy pursuit of wealth, their exploitation and oppression of their fellowmen, nor does it prevent them from being even more predatory than the less religion-intoxicated nations or races; finally, in all ages and countries it is the worshippers of nebulous, empty abstractions, of symbols, idols, flags, etc.—the pseudo-idealists, pseudo-patriots, pseudo-educators, pseudo-religionists—who defend warfare, that is, the frequent outbreaks of mutual robbery and slaughter between nations, on the ground that it is a holy fight for civilization, culture, democracy, freedom, God, country, the flag, national honor, the dignity of the church, etc.

The drivel and babble of official, upper-world, respectable, state-supported or legally tolerated mystics (theologians, priests, evangelists, spiritualistic, transcendental or romantic philosophers), even if tinged with a little bit of feigned, vague humanitarianism, never contributes towards moral advancement; nay, it is harmful, for not only does it not offer any guidance in everyday life, but it always tends to divert men's attention from their vital needs to illusory, so-called spiritual aims, to will-o'-the-wisps in the pursuit of which men fail to notice that they are sinking ever deeper into the capitalistic marshes, marching towards a sure premature death. The same applies to the disreputable, unofficial, legally unprotected, under-world mystical charlatans, such as palmists, astrologers, theosophists, spiritists, fortune-tellers, oracles, sorcerers, New Thought-ists or "applied psychologists", clair-voyants, faith-healers, etc. Of course, both the official and the unofficial mystery-mongers try to believe more or less in their own humbug, for deception and self-deception, as a rule, go together; nor can they be accused of having invented the superstitions on which they trade, i. e., the confusions between wish and reality, fact and fancy, subjectivity and objectivity, symbols and things, copies and originals, analogy and identity, substances and shadows. Both, however, are guilty of jealously maintaining the masses in these mind-killing superstitions, which they themselves only half-believe in; they are guilty of deliberately drowning the little grain of truth contained therein in an inextricable mass of falsehood, vain hopes and enervating fears. These professional occultists pretend to be more muddle-headed, sentimental, visionary and credulous in matters of religion, politics, science, philosophy than they really are, because it pays to be so, because they can thus stun or frighten and fleece the masses, as well as because this is agreeable to all the other exploiters of the masses. But these same mystery-mongers display great lucidity of thought, logic, hard-headedness or matter-of-factness and scepticism in money matters, in business transactions, in making investments, in their hunt for privileges, sinecures, profitable social connections, in short, wherever vagueness of thought, indecision and credulity would be detrimental to them.

Occultism or mysticism, in the intellectual world, is in most cases nothing but the counterpart, continuance or offspring of the deceitfulness practiced in the economic world. Like the latter, mysticism talks in mere hints, symbols, allegories, figures of speech, in an obscure, vague, ambiguous, unusual, non-committal, archaic language, insinuating that much more is meant than is expressed or that something different is meant from what is expressed, in order to get credit for the meanings supplied by the logical thinking of honest or clear thinkers. The occultist or mystic projects into the outside world his own deceitfulness, shadowy thoughts, suspicions, fears, obsessions, and confused-mindedness: Nature to him is not what she appears to be; she always has something up her sleeve; she likes to work in the dark, to mystify us or hide things from us; the things and events of the visible, material world are mere hints, symbols, copies, the foreshadowings of the realities of a much vaster, hidden, invisible, spiritual world. He holds, with the Platonists, i. e., with the philosophical idealists or romanticists, that we live in a shadow world, that the things perceived are mere phenomena, appearances, ideas, the mere unsubstantial shadows of immutable, eternal but hidden realities, of noumena, of what Plato called "Forms", of the Unknowable, of realities lying beyond our field of vision or beyond our field of comprehension.

Likewise, the snobbism and the gambling spirit of the economic world, i. e., the craving for privileges and social distinction, or the spirit of aristocratic exclusiveness, and the impatience for honest, productive work or the desire for easy, unearned money, find their intellectual counterparts in the mystic's desire and claim to attain transcendental knowledge, genius, magic power, or hypnotic influence, which is beyond the reach of the masses, by easy, deceitful, esoteric or secret, speculative, intuitional, inspirational, ecstatic, cabalistic methods, supposed to be known to but a handful of initiates, and not by the slow, laborious, honest methods of observation, experimentation, logical thinking, which are democratic or accessible to all. Thus by mere intuition the mystic hopes to discover the "lost languages" or hidden meanings of, and the "affinities" or "correspondences" between, form, sound, color, thought, emotion, number; and the knowledge of God or of the ultimate reality he claims to attain by the so-called "mystic way" of purgation, illumination and union.

Just as nebulous, romantic, fantastic philosophers have more adherents than sober, clear-headed thinkers for the simple reason that everybody can read his own favorite opinions into vague, ill-defined doctrines; just so the sincere, clear-headed moralist who does not stop at mere verbal generalities which lend themselves to any and all interpretations and purposes, but goes into concrete details, showing the definite directions of genuine moral action, unmasking immorality in disguise or the easy and cheap substitutes for true morality—this sincere, clear-minded moralist, I say, does not meet with the favor of the many who want to have free play in their selfish, parasitic and immoral pursuits and expect the moralist, the preacher, the writer, either to leave them alone, that is, to address his attacks against mere phantoms, or to supply them with good names for their bad actions, or to preach cheap substitutes (such as alms-giving, prayers, donations to churches and schools, etc.) instead of the more distasteful genuine moral duties (such as: do not take advantage of other people's ignorance, poverty, helplessness; treat others as you would like to be treated by them; do not compete, but cooperate; treat your employees as partners and not as mere tools or beasts of burden; etc.). A moralist, a professor of ethics, a preacher, who does not understand what services are really expected of him, who refuses to look upon his profession as a mere business or means of making a comfortable living, is sooner or later driven to the wall by a commercially minded or shrewder colleague, by a so-called "safe preacher", who does not take his task so seriously, who understands that he is expected to teach ethics with morality left out, but not psychology without a soul, who understands that he is expected by his employers—men and women who live on profit, rent and interest—to preach the "Simple Gospel", that is, the gospel which does not arouse their guilty conscience from its peaceful slumber.

The egotistic, self-idolizing, economically and intellectually dishonest, indolent, parasitic upper classes, and their like-minded retainers, who expect infinite and eternal returns from the world and their fellowmen for small or purely fictitious efforts on their part, and whose guilty conscience can not stand the light of Truth that reveals their worthless and hideous real natures, seek refuge from Reality in the semi-darkness, misty region of dreamy, intoxicating, mind-befuddling mystic or romantic music, art, literature, philosophy.

Another reason why mysticism with its attendant moral evils (self-deception, intellectual dishonesty, self-conceit, etc.) is more frequent among the rich than among the poor, among women and children than among men and adults, is the simple fact that the former are guarded and relieved of all the burdens, responsibilities and mental strain of the struggle for existence and, therefore, can afford to indulge with impunity in fleeing from reality, in play, revery, illusions, wishful or autistic thinking, incomplete observation, unverified and unverifiable hypotheses, and to even relapse into the thoughtless, purely emotional, sub-conscious mental state of babyhood, nay, of intra-uterine existence; whereas the latter, being compelled to face harsh realities and to either adapt themselves thereto or perish, must think clearly or honestly, be constantly on the alert and mentally sober, observe accurately, control their passions, desires, whims and impulses, verify their presuppositions, act promptly, and refrain from revery or other distractions while the battle for existence is on. And just as the industrial proletarian must think straight in everyday affairs, so does the intellectual proletarian think straight in Science and Philosophy: he resists the lure of the mental inversion or so-called idealism, to which his aristocratic and would-be aristocratic confreres are addicted and which casts a veil over their perceptions while lending lifelike vividness to mere fancies, making them mistake potentialities for actualities, shadows for objects, dreams for realities, temporal for spatial relations, mere anticipations of the future for actual foreshadowings thereof, and vice versa.

CHAPTER II.

Intellectual Immorality. Intellectual Parasitism.

DISHONESTY, immorality, is of a double nature: economic and intellectual. One may be economically honest, but intellectually dishonest. He will shrink, for instance, from illegally appropriating other people's material possessions or the fruits of their manual labor; but in his desire to be considered intelligent and original, he will not hesitate to steal the fruits of their intellectual labor or exertions by giving them a different form, by hiding them under his own linguistic cloak, or claiming that he, too, has arrived independently at the same conclusions. He learns just enough to be able to cover up or hide his ignorance and to make believe he knows considerably more than he condescends to reveal.

Some allow themselves economic dishonesty in order to be able to remain intellectually honest. Others, on the contrary, will sacrifice intellectual to economic honesty. Others—and these are the most numerous—sacrifice both to their own well-being.

The intellectually dishonest, vain, fame-seeking, glory-craving individuals suppress or prostitute their convictions, if they have any; they form with their like a tacit pact of mutual advertizing, mutual praising and glorification, based on the principle "do ut des" or "manus lavat manum"; they intentionally use obscure, mystifying language and theories; they have no scruples to ignore, belittle, deny or keep silent about the merits of others; they are experts in indirect self-praising, self-aggrandisement and self-advertizing, in dissimulation of ignorance and of intellectual laziness, and simulation of intellectual superiority, of vast learning, of depth of thought; they profess theories and doctrines which they do not understand or do not adhere to; they intentionally adulterate, distort common-place and common-sense truths, they feed pupils and readers on psitacisms or empty words. For it is easier to handle memorized empty words than words loaded with meaning, words standing for ideas and real intellectual acquisitions; just as it is easier to draw checks on inherited, unearned money, the value of which one does not realize, than on saved money which is the product of one's own labor. They conceal their prosaic pursuits under an external veneer of poetry, and make Truth subservient to their vain desire for undeserved fame, notoriety, success; they shift the burden of thinking, observing, experimenting, reading upon the intellectually honest people. They do not shrink from attacking the economic existence of their critics, rivals, non-adherents. Morality and vain fame-seeking are mutually exclusive. For morality consists in justice, love, disinterestedness. Whereas the vain, ambitious individual keeps his smiles and favors only for flatterers, panegyrists, but he has neither time nor use for men who do not further his pursuits of notoriety; nay, he is ready to trample upon, and to unscrupulously do away with, all those who stand in his way towards the dreamed-of pinnacle of Fame.

Intellectually dishonest men do not go to the trouble of studying, investigating, thinking out, assimilating new problems, but take the much easier road of "adopting", stealing the solutions worked out by genuine, honest, but socially

obscure thinkers, and of merely memorizing and using in their conversation or writings the new terminology created by the new problems; for all they want is the mere appearance of superior knowledge in order to get the reward and credit due to it; and for this purpose it is enough to verbally allude to the burning, vital questions and problems of life, for the mentally indolent masses, who without investigation infer from the truth of a proposition as to the truth of its converse, conclude from the fact that new ideas often necessitate a new terminology that the use of unusual, new, technical words goes together with new, superior, expert knowledge. In reality, avidity for new words, for linguistic wealth, is incompatible with avidity or thirst for new ideas, for enrichment of knowledge. A writer whose works are up-to-date in linguistical fashion, i. e., abounding in the latest or most modern and commonly not understood phrases and terminology, is certainly shallow-minded and an intellectual parasite who tries to turn to his own profit some of the glory bestowed upon epoch-making geniuses. This dishonestly appropriated linguistic garb is one of the means used by the parasitical or rich classes, by the educated philistines, by professional or pseudo-writers, by city dwellers in order to gain material advantage over, to impose upon, and to frighten away from their privileged position, the toiling or poor classes, the vocational or inspirational writers, the uneducated philistines, the villagers or tillers of the soil. Many a reactionary, conservative, would-be aristocratical, capitalistically-minded, egotistical, despotical, unscrupulous, superficial individual is mistaken for and hailed as a progressivist, radical, democrat, socialist, altruist, champion of liberty, saint, deep thinker, because he speaks or apes the latter's language, because he has adopted the mere husk of the latter's doctrines. Many an ignoramus and superficial mind is mistaken for a thinker, a widely read individual, a critical mind, because his talk is interspersed with memorized literary allusions, names of books, quotations, ready-made newspaper criticisms of popular books, etc.

Pseudo-intellectuals, being mentally indolent and intellectually dishonest, prefer therefore to indulge in arguments and polemics about fictitious characters, events and problems, a task which does not require any mental effort but only idle guessing and an aimlessly roaming imagination, rather than deal with actual historical events and with real, live problems, characters, or types, a task requiring painstaking, accurate observation and patient, honest thinking. For the same reason, pseudo-intellectuals prefer to cling to their biased views or preconceived pet theories in the face of glaringly contradictory facts, and often go to the length of ignoring or even distorting such unwelcome facts, rather than admit their bias and make an attempt at remedying the same.

In Science there is less room for intellectual dishonesty than in philosophy or intellectual speculation; just as the manual worker lacks the financial speculator's or the brain-worker's opportunities for bluffing and for economic dishonesty. And vice versa: An economically honest individual takes naturally to manual work or to a less lucrative but secure profession with clearly defined rights and duties rather than to the uncertain, risky, begrudged, largely parasitical, but very lucrative profession of a speculator, business man, promoter, manager, administrator, executive, etc., even if he has the required ability; he prefers to earn a living by being exploited, wronged, subjugated rather than by exploiting or tyrannizing others. And an intellectually honest thinker takes to scientific, clear, patient research, which is laborious and leads but slowly to success, rather

than to wildly speculative, mystical, obscure, apparently deep, less tiresome, verbal philosophizing, even if he is not deprived of talent for the latter.

The philosophizing of such intellectually dishonest, pseudo-original phrase-mongers could not be more picturesquely characterized than in the words with which their most brilliant living representative, Henri Bergson, concludes his clever essay on laughter: "It is a froth with a saline base. Like froth it sparkles. It is gaiety itself. But the philosopher (*I* would say: the matter-of-fact, clear-headed, honest philosopher) who gathers a handful to taste may find that the substance is scanty, and the after-taste bitter." These self-important philosophical humbugs do not like, of course, to be called mere intellectual midwives, as Socrates with the modesty of a genuine philosopher used to call himself; they prefer to pose as the only monopolists of wisdom, who have it in their power to either enlighten their fellowmen or keep them in perpetual ignorance.

Just as the economically parasitic classes thrive, not on the fruits of their own labor, but on the poverty, weakness, ignorance, credulity of the honest producers; just so do the intellectual parasites thrive, not by extending the domain of human knowledge or by carrying the light of investigation into unknown, unexplored regions, but by pouncing upon the knowledge already acquired by honest thinkers, throwing it into confusion and drowning it in a flood of bewildering, obscure, high-flown, dazzling phrases, in order to be able to freely prey upon it and to pose then as establishers of order or as adjusters of difficulties; the favorite pseudo-doctrines of these parasites (animism, theism, spiritism, libertarianism, vitalism, faith cure, competitive individualism, etc.) do not draw their strength from solid facts, but merely thrive on the unsettled minor difficulties, on the weak and as yet obscure parts of the realistic doctrines (materialism, monism, evolutionism, determinism, socialism, etc) elaborated at great pains by honest, matter-of-fact thinkers, and on the latter's inability to disprove their ungrounded, purely speculative or fictitious claims.

The parasite in the economic world, particularly the financial speculator, obtrudes and imposes his sham services without caring whether or not they are wanted, whether or not they satisfy any real needs, whether or not his money-making schemes violate the rights of the people; he does not scruple to speculate with fictitious wealth, to spread false alarms, false information, false hopes in order to compel honest people to intrust their savings to him—instead of putting them at the disposal of the government for the performance of generally useful work—, thus putting into his hands the very weapons by means of which he will then rob and enslave them. Just so the parasite in the intellectual world, particularly the pseudo-philosophical speculator, obtrudes and imposes his empty theories without caring whether or not they satisfy any real intellectual need, whether or not they are built upon real, concrete experiences, whether or not he violates the people's rights to having their language and their common stock of knowledge properly used; he does not scruple to create fictitious problems or difficulties which, after a little display of mock ingenuity, he succeeds in clearing from his path much more easily than real ones; he does not scruple to throw men's minds into confusion, to distort the meanings of current expressions, to juggle with empty words, to counterfeit ideas by coining new words that do not stand for any real knowledge, to stun his hearers or readers with a flood of unintelligible phrases in order to compel honest but timid thinkers to seek protection, confirmation, support for their honestly and laboriously acquired intellectual wealth in

his nebulous, wild speculation—instead of seeking it in logic and common sense, of which every human being has a share—, thus enabling him to rob them of the credit to which they alone are entitled. Other intellectual parasites—in the shape of preachers, orators, professional writers, journalists, professors, etc.—simply steal the ideas and opinions on human and cosmic nature elaborated by honest or original thinkers on the basis of personal observation and experience, and make capital thereof after having more or less adulterated, distorted, or disguised them. The power-craving pure critic *a la* H. L. Mencken is another type of intellectual parasite, who pushes himself between intellectual producers and consumers, and constitutes himself a literary pope, an authority or a censor who decides the fate of honest authors; he finds it easier and more profitable to pounce upon ready-made opinions, to write books about books, to attach himself to already famous authors, than to grapple with the complex realities of human life and struggles, and to stand on his own feet or to discover meritorious unknown authors; he finds it easier to trade on the ideas and works of others than to wait patiently until he has produced works or ideas of his own, or until he is able to render the ideas of others more serviceable by judging or interpreting them, as creative critics do, in the light of a fixed system or world- and life-conception of his own. Parasitic, disguisedly impressionist, capricious, subjective critics, like women, are guided by momentary moods, personal likes and dislikes, fashion and fads; they lack objective, constant criteria or intellectual units of measure whereby to evaluate works of art and literature, as well as the ability of dealing with the realities of life themselves, and are therefore unable to throw light on the contributions of acknowledged geniuses and still less able to recognize new talent and genius when they see it; they wait with their praises until the public and the connoisseurs have declared their predilection for certain authors. This kind of critics, who fail to see the merits of as yet unknown geniuses, are ready to bow before any popular hero, to discover in him qualities and abilities which he himself is not aware of, to find justifications and explanations for any of his absurdities which even he himself does not dare to justify, to read into his actions, speeches or writings all the fine thoughts and intentions which he never entertained, to give him credit for what he has neither said nor done, to find profound meanings in his most patent platitudes, and to find comprehensible his most incoherent babbling. They deal with the works of Art, Literature, Philosophy as if they were ends-in-themselves or rather means of intellectual amusement for loaferish minds, that is, as if their mission were to give a privileged class access to a beautiful dream-world, far removed from the prosaic world of every-day life. Whereas the genuine, objective, realistic critic judges the works of geniuses from the standpoint of their bearing upon real life with its perennial problems, aspirations, and struggles for better conditions; he judges them from the standpoint of their mission as vehicles for the distribution of the collective intellectual wealth or wisdom, as means for permanently enriching the minds and hearts of men with the experience of all lands and ages, as instruments of culture or of general intellectual and moral uplift. His own indifference to truth and morals and lack of convictions, which he betrays in singing the praises of antagonistic ideas provided their originators have attained success, the pseudo-critic passes off as broad- or open-mindedness or intellectual tolerance; whereas the genuine critic's courageous condemnation of whatever is morbid, decadent, false, immoral, spurious, regardless of the originator's success or popularity, he brands as intolerance,

narrow-mindedness, sensationalism, muck-raking, jealousy, yellow journalism, fault finding, etc. The intellectually dishonest, parasitical or pseudo-critic lacks many-sidedness, settled convictions and creative ability and therefore all genuine understanding of originality. The honest, genuine critic possesses many-sidedness, settled convictions (unless he is still in the frankly impressionistic stage), and the creative ability in its incipient, as yet unorganized or non-mobilized, and therefore self-conscious or analytic stage. This seeming disadvantage, while hampering him in his own attempts at creative work, enables him to understand, analyze, appreciate, appraise, interpret, expound, compare the creations and creative processes of maturer, inspirational, or spontaneous geniuses much better than they themselves could do.

Under a socialistic regime, economic dishonesty (idleness, parasitism, robbery, unscrupulous competition, greed, etc.) and that kind of intellectual dishonesty which is subservient to it (intellectual prostitution, flattery, hypocrisy, servilism, etc.) will be the first to disappear. But purely intellectual dishonesty (plagiarism, unfair competition for honor, unfair criticism, simulation of originality and of nobler sentiments than those really felt, exaggerated self-love and self-conceit, etc.), which springs from vanity, from impatient longing for fame, from a desire for undeserved social recognition, will probably persist for a long time at the side of sexual immorality; and will probably arouse just as much bitter indignation in the open-eyed, intellectually honest critic as economic dishonesty does nowadays in the hearts of noble-minded, socialistic, revolutionary thinkers.

The infliction of moral suffering through undeserved contempt, distrust, lack of affection, unfair criticism, partiality, falsehood, intolerance, plagiarism, lack of soul-chastity, etc., will arouse just as much indignation as the infliction of material suffering or deprivation does nowadays. For in a socialistic society spiritual possessions (friendship, love, fame, esteem, the confidence of one's fellowmen, soul-chastity, truth, peace, liberty, etc.) will just as eagerly and just as universally be striven after as material possessions (money, land, houses, jewels, furniture, remunerative positions, etc.) are hunted for nowadays.

Strictly speaking, cases of purely intellectual dishonesty are very rare in our individualistic society, and are met with only among intellectually semi-superior men; for only these pursue fame for its own sake and do not tolerate any rivals who compete with them for the same prize. Whereas if the pseudo-superior men rob others of their intellectual property, reputation, deserved glory, social recognition and public gratitude, etc., it is because and in so far as material benefits are connected therewith, Only the genuine superior man who pursues truth, beauty, morality for their own sakes, and neither for the sake of fame nor for the sake of material prosperity, is incapable of both economic and intellectual dishonesty.

Strictly speaking, it is not so much the objects which we exploit, the means which we use, the results which we obtain, as our intentions or the objects and advantages aimed at by our exploitation of others that stamp our actions as immoral and determine the economic or intellectual character thereof. Thus, it is not strictly correct to say that it is economically and not intellectually immoral

to keep men in poverty, to rob them of the fruits of their labor, to knowingly inflict bodily harm upon them, to pay in promises or in adulterated and overcharged food stuffs instead of paying in coin, to pride oneself upon greater wealth which is not self-earned, etc.; and that parallel to these economic crimes we have the purely intellectual crimes of keeping men in ignorance, of robbing them of their credit, of stultifying and teaching them what we do not believe ourselves, of imparting to them empty words instead of ideas, of priding oneself upon original ideas conceived by and stolen from others, of finding satisfaction in being intellectually superior to others, etc. Whether I keep men in ignorance and stultify them in order to remain their intellectual superior, or whether I keep them in poverty and economically dependent on me in order to compel them to advertize my supposed intellectual superiority, I act in both cases intellectually dishonestly. If I am, however, primarily after economic or material advantages to be gotten from their ignorance, poverty, or by robbing them of their credit and original ideas, I act economically dishonestly. An intellectual crime, i. e., a crime primarily intended to bring spiritual advantages to the agent (glory, love, vindictive triumph, gratification of envy, ...), may appear as an economic crime from the point of view of the victim, i. e., it may bring to the latter not only spiritual but also economic disadvantages, it can not wound his soul without wounding his body, and it may bring to the agent not only the desired spiritual but also many unexpected, not pursued material advantages. Of course, real life does not know of or care for our classifications, which are made just for convenience or orientation and hence do not deserve being given much importance, so that we need not feel surprised if we come across unclassifiable beings, things or events. Thus, in our particular case concerning the classification of dishonesty into intellectual and economic according to the results aimed at by the agent, we come across the unclassifiable case in which the agent aims at both spiritual and economic advantages for himself and both kinds of disadvantages for his victim, or the case in which the agent aims at moral satisfaction for himself but which he can not attain unless he aims at causing economic disadvantages to his victim who happens to be insensitive to spiritual disadvantages.

As a socialistic and proletarian thinker I should feel ashamed to have allowed myself to be allured by, and to indulge in, such useless, time-wasting, luxurious, unimportant, formal, academical hair-splitting distinctions between economic and intellectual immorality, if I were not convinced that during the first or transitional period of the socialistic regime the intellectual side of immorality will entirely supersede the economic, that vanity will take the place of greed.

Just as in the economic world the exploiters succeed in getting an increasingly tighter hold upon the toiling masses by secretly, craftily, underhandedly, or ingratiatingly usurping a seemingly little bit of property and authority, or by exacting a seemingly little promise, or by imperceptibly compelling an agreement, which to the good-natured people seem trifling, harmless, retractable affairs, but which unmask themselves as having carried hidden within or behind them all the bitter, disastrous, unavoidable, binding, enslaving consequences of which the masses become too late aware; and just as these exploiters pretend to reclaim or recover lost property for the people while in reality robbing it of the little it still has, to free the people from the time-honoured claims of ancient drones while

in reality smuggling in new and more dangerous claims of their own, to free the people from the yoke of little burdens while imposing upon it still more burdensome obligations, just so in the intellectual world the dishonest, sterile, reactionary, destructive, or pseudo thinkers, who are the sons or allies of the predatory class of the economic world, succeed in imposing upon honest thinkers by tacitly compelling adherence to seemingly simple assumptions which escape the scrutiny of the confiding, honest thinkers, or seem to them harmless, not binding, plain, transparent because lightly passed over, but which unmask themselves later as having carried hidden within or behind them all the mind-confusing, seemingly new consequences and corollaries which are claimed to have been acquired by means of them; or by seemingly reclaiming, reviving for the people lost beliefs, lost sweet illusions, while in reality robbing the people of the little intellectual property that it still has, and emptying popular knowledge of the little certainty or reliability it had; by seemingly destroying time-honored false axioms, while in reality smuggling in new and more dangerous sophistical claims, wild paradoxes, sensational absurdities, scientific vagaries of their own. Thus, for instance, while claiming to free the people from crass materialism, from what they call Euclid's unproved assumptions, and narrow geometrical horizon, etc., they smuggle in their own still more ungrounded, sophistical, confusing, bewildering, mind-unbalancing assumptions of mathematical fiction, romance or mysticism, of so-called Einsteinian relativism, non-Euclidian geometries, or metageometry, of four-dimensional space, two-dimensional beings, curved space, subjectivity or illusoriness of time, distance and motion, voluntaristic theory of space, unsubstantiality of matter, contraction or variability of mass with acceleration, enormous density of ether, conventionality or arbitrariness or instrumentality of truth, etc. They obliterate the real, natural demarcation lines, while setting up in their place purely artificial, imaginary, arbitrary ones, between appearance and reality, perception and dream, objective and subjective, variable and constant, concrete and abstract, complex reality and simplified substitutes, idea and symbol, assumption and axiom, convention and truth. The legal trick consisting in disguising deliberate blindness to and denial of unpleasant truths under the mask of an apparently over-conscientious demand for more tangible evidence, is carried over into the intellectual world where under the mask of a seemingly modest confession of ignorance and under the mask of an overscrupulous attempt to prove the self-evident axioms one may always refuse to admit the truth of whatever he does not like. Under the mask of generalizing, broadening the inherited knowledge of the people, they empty it of all its contents, of all its usefulness and reliability. The insincerity of their intellectual skepticism, over-scrupulousness, progressivism, or doubt of obvious, directly perceptible, axiomatic scientific truths, is proved by their clinging at the same time to religious, economic and social dogmatism, conservatism, or belief in and adherence to the obviously absurd and unjust or inhuman.

The best and only preservative against the deceptive, confusing, stultifying, grandomania-breeding, pedantic, word-worshipping, sophistical, formalistic, socially useless or even harmful education imparted by these intellectually dishonest or distorted capital-owned scholars, is that the people should keep away from parasite-controlled colleges or other educational institutions and should establish schools of their own; nor should they undertake to read the works of capital-owned writers before having armed themselves with a goodly supply of

skepticism, distrust, watchfulness, ability to translate inflated, abstract and ambiguous language into concrete, plain language, ability to search for the content of the words and for the concrete realities they claim to stand for, ability to resist the hypnotizing or captivating influence of brilliant, dazzling outward forms, ability of detecting false or tautological and verbose explanations, ability of resisting the stunning effect of meaningless grandiloquence. Thus if a philosophical humbug tries to stun with such a meaningless phrase as *knowledge of knowledge*, the best way of unmasking and disarming him or her is to translate this general, abstract phrase into its corresponding concrete or particular phrases: the smell of a smell, the color of a color, the redness of red, etc., or to coin similar word-combinations whose absurdity is more obvious, such as the *shadow of a shadow*, etc.

INTELLECTUAL PROSTITUTION

It is not so much poverty, hunger or bodily needs that drives some women to bodily prostitution; it is rather the love of ease and pleasure, vanity, the love of luxury, the craving for finery and jewels. Just so with the intellectual prostitutes: it is not so much poverty as the love of ease and comforts, vanity, the craving for honor or social distinction or undeserved fame, that impels them to sell their souls to money-bags, to the owners, moulders and leaders of public opinion, or, in other words, to degrade the higher, intellectual, unselfish pursuits to mere means for the attainment of lower, material, selfish ends.

Just as the refined, disguised female prostitute sophistically justifies her laxity on the basis of real love felt for her favorite beaux, and likes to look upon the remunerations received from them as mere incidents, unaimed-at and unasked-for gifts, although this flattering self-sophistication would be easily dispelled by a moment's consideration of the fact that she does not bestow her favors upon her impecunious, even if more attractive, admirers; just so the male intellectual prostitute likes to think it is a mere coincidence if he professes, endorses, praises such opinions, doctrines, theories, as meet with the approval and gratitude of the influential, dominating, wealthy, exploiting class, and that his open hatred or scorn for and intolerance of minorities, agitators, socialists, radical or serious reformers are dictated by purely disinterested sentiments or convictions, whereas the repression of those of his convictions which are non-lucrative because likely to meet with the disapproval of the powerful he unhesitatingly and cocksurely ascribes to mere politeness, courtesy, altruistic considerations, and not to his venal or mercenary nature. If he is a politician or a governmental official, the intellectual prostitute happens to favor such laws and measures as the hereditary and the financial aristocrats approve of, whereas the bribes received from the latter are mere presents given out of gratitude, admiration or other noble sentiments. If he is a college professor, a journalist, a professional moralist, historian, etc., he knows—although he does not like to admit—that he is expected to invent theoretical justifications, deeper meanings and hidden ideal motives for the existing order of things, for the conceit, snobbishness, base practices, pursuits, manners, prejudices, idolatries of his patrons. He discovers, for instance, that ball games, college athletics—far from being games for children and philistines or an idle, wasteful, brutalizing imitation of business competition or a cowardly substitute for war and hunting, an outlet for the gambling spirit, out of place in higher institutions of learning—develop the brain, the spirit of fairness or of co-

operation, decrease sensuality and do God knows what other wonders in the transmutation of human nature. He maintains this nonsense in face of the fact that savages are excellent athletes; in the face of the fact that those students who distinguish themselves as athletes are the most brainless in the class-room and the least fit for a productive, socially useful life, in face of all the evidence that human evolution is not along the line of increasing muscularity; in face of the generally admitted dishonest practices resorted to by players in order to win; in face of the fact that ball games appeal mostly to the brainless, savage elements of the civilized nations, to whom they afford the same emotional intoxication as primitive hunting and warfare, minus the latter's dangers to life and limb, and an opportunity to escape temporarily from the burdensome duties, restraints, individual responsibility, painful necessity of thinking imposed by civilized life and to relapse with impunity into the irresponsible, thoughtless, unrestrained, purely emotional state of the hunting pack. The hazing practiced by the coarse, bullying, predatory, gangster type of students upon the refined, meek, lone, well mannered, independence-loving students is defended by the intellectually prostituted college professor and attributed by him to the innocent, unselfish desire of knocking the conceit out of the latter, when the real desire is to knock out, to crush, to bully them out of, their self-respect, their democratic spirit, their belief in the goodness of their fellowmen, their reverence for social institutions. In the same way as the academical prostitute used to discover the invisible civilizing, uplifting, progress-promoting influences of military warfare, he now begins to discover its horrors, damages, wastes, and sings the praise of international peace at congresses, banquets, in pamphlets, because it is in favor with our captains of industry; but he can not see—poor soul!—the same horrors, the same slaughtering, maiming, enslaving of human beings perpetrated with more refined, more harmful and more inescapable cruelty in financial wars, in business competition, in mines, mills, shops, factories; nor does he take the trouble of preventing or stopping actual military wars, or of giving at least credit to the despised, poor, unpaid agitators who, at the risk of their own lives and liberty, go among the toiling masses, among the soldiers, to teach them the efficacy of solidarity, direct action, general strike, non-resistance, unanimous refusal to fight against their brothers from other lands.

Our dear prostituted, plutolatrous college professors do not stop at the discovery of all sorts of virtues in the hitting and chasing of a ball, but are also willing to go to any trouble to oblige their allies, the clergymen, or their church-supporting wealthy patrons, and dig up the most far-fetched, irrelevant biological, psychological or other high-sounding, bewildering theories which have the least semblance of proving the importance of believing in God, in the divinity of Christ, in human immortality, in souls, in an Here-after, or in similar absurdities, the necessity or usefulness of praying and of going to church, although a moment's honest, logical thinking would convince them of the contrary. A little honest thinking would soon convince them that praying to an *omniscient* god for favors, and even praying for the mere sake of its subjective reaction—which is a new-fangled justification therefor, but which in reality means simply self-stultification or self-deception—is just as foolish as and largely tantamount to talking to oneself: If God is really omniscient, omnipresent and full of love for His creatures, what need is there for the latter to tell Him in their prayers what He already is willing to do and what He already knows, i. e., what they

think about, feel towards, and expect of Him? Nay, more, what need is there for telling it to Him on a special day, at a particular place and in conventional, sterotyped phrases? If God is really so merciful, powerful, wise or free from vanity, it ought to be immaterial to Him whether we ephemeral, foolish creatures believe in Him or not, and it ought to be regarded as an insult to praise Him, to prostrate and humble ourselves before Him, and to beg Him to be kind to us, to be lenient with our foibles. But what is the use of talking logic with the mercenary official enlighteners of the people when all they are really driving at and concerned about is to defend the financial interests of the parasitical classes?

The intellectual prostitute surrounds with an aureola of idealism, poetry, humanitarianism all the disguises of active parasitism, of commercial greed, and all its attempts to fasten its clutches into the productive masses of other nations or races (Pan-Germanism, Pan-Americanism, Pan-Slavism, colonization, proselytizing missions, etc.). He discovers that spiritual and temporal rulers, the judiciary, statesmen, etc., are infallible, above criticism, exempt from the moral restraints of ordinary men, God-anointed or naturally fit to own, control, supervise the means of existence or the natural resources, to lead the masses and to decree what is good and proper for them to do, know, believe, or feel. He keeps his entire enthusiasm, his rhetorical pathos for palliative, superficial, partial, formal, sham reforms, which do not bring about any general, real, lasting improvement in the lot of the people, but which happen to bring him popularity, titles, high positions, sinecures, the favor of the plutocrats to whom such reforms give a chance to advertize their business, to pose as public benefactors, to hide their predatory function, to propitiate the deities, etc.—He discovers that anti-semitism, racial and class hatred is not hatred at all, but merely the manifestation of a laudable desire to preserve intact the purity, noble acquirements, precious heritage of the race, nation, class.—In the exclusiveness, criminal ostentatiousness, conspicuous wastefulness, incredibly expensive and absurd fashions of the rich he can not see anything but the expression of refined aesthetic needs; whereas the contempt of some poor people for the rich and the socialist's indictment against capitalism he is prone to ascribe to an envious, muck-raking, fault-finding, morose nature, and not to a revolted sense of justice, noble indignation, moral courage, wounded altruistic heart, self-respect, love of independence.—If the socialists advocate that the cure and prevention of social evils (poverty, slavery, prostitution) lie in facing the truth, instead of shunning it, by turning the light of publicity, social consciousness, free criticism, open discussion, public control upon their causes, i. e., upon the exploitation or profit-seeking system, upon the secret predatory organizations and their alliance with the Government, Church, Press, School, etc., upon the idleness, corruption, debauchery and wasteful consumption of the rich, the intellectual prostitutes cry out against the arousing of class consciousness or class hatred, against the sowing of discontentedness and the seeds of rebellion, although it is plain to every unbiassed mind that this remedy for social evils is in the same line with the hygienist's remedy for bodily ills when he recommends the exposure of the body to the microbe-killing sunlight and to the fresh open air, and also in the same line with Freud's psychoanalytic remedy for psychical ills (parasitic, despotic or fixed ideas, obsessions, phobias, hysteria, repressed or unexpressed longings, etc.) which—on being stripped of its mythological vagaries, useless neologisms, academic grandiloquent verbiage and capitalistic sensationalism or humbug—reduces itself to the

old, simple, yet hard and rarely tried expedient of courageously facing the truth about oneself by turning upon the hidden, subconscious sources of these psychic ailments the light of consciousness, self-scrutiny, sincerity with oneself and with others, an expedient which is also made use of to a certain extent in the Catholic confessional.

The mammon-worshipping intellectual prostitute ascribes to the rich and to the socially prominent abilities which they do not possess; nay, he idealizes their very mistakes, defects, deficiencies or weaknesses, and interprets them in terms of superior abilities, as has been shown with such fine radical humor by Stephen Leacock in his charming work "Arcadian Adventures with the Idle Rich": If the plutocrats have a puzzled, perplexed look, the intellectual prostitute calls it "unfathomable", "the searching look of a captain of industry"; if their face is simple, it is termed "inscrutable"; the sycophants never tire of describing the plutocrat as a strange, impressive personality, a great dominating character of the highest finance; they grow lyric about him; what visions, they ask, could one but read them, must lie behind the quiet dreaming eyes of that inscrutable face? And so on!

CHAPTER III.

Private and Public (Political) Morality and Immorality.

IN order to get a clearer insight into the origin or sources of morality, we have to study it in its undeveloped stages, or where it is still in embryo. We must study it, for instance, in politics or public life, where the efficient or productive causes of morality are just beginning their work; or we have to look at circumstances in which immorality is coming forward and morality is driven to the wall. For if –A, i. e., the absence or the opposite of +A, destroys morality, we may safely infer that +A is a productive or at least a preservative cause of morality.

To understand the political and financial game or the people in higher, more privileged or more lucrative walks of life, it is not necessary to resort to confessions, autobiographies, statistics, works on political science, finance, etc., nor to the art of the detective. All that is necessary for this purpose is to use common sense and to study ourselves and those around us in the humbler or less lucrative walks of life; for the game is the same and the mental types are the same. The play is the same and the actors are alike at bottom, the only difference being that the actors in the higher walks of life play for bigger game, on a bigger stage, and less openly or less honestly than the actors in the lower walks of life.

Why is public morality so far behind private morality? Exactly for the same reason that in private life the moral philistines act more morally towards their family, friends, acquaintances, customers, voters, coreligionists, colleagues, fellow-citizens than towards strangers, outsiders, foreigners; nay, they side with the former against the latter even when they know that the latter have been wronged, oppressed, or cheated by the former. Exactly for the same reason that there is more morality and solidarity in the country than in the city. Exactly for the same reason that the light-minded women, who are prudish with the men of their own "set" or "world", do not shrink from indulging in flirtation or even debauchery with strangers, foreigners, men belonging to other sets or social classes, who can not endanger their reputation among their own people. In short, because human morality is still narrow, short-sighted, largely compulsory, interested, business-like or externally imposed. We act morally so far as our interests are furthered thereby. We are immoral wherever and whenever our interests are not hurt thereby, our immorality is not clearly detected, and our reputation is not endangered; in short, whenever the opportunity offers itself. Politics, trade, industry, are conducted by a minority who do not incur any harm, neither they nor their immediate progeny, by being immoral. If in any social matter the decisions were left to those who are mostly and directly affected by their consequences, there would be no room left for criminal politics, for criminal commercialism and industrialism.

Politicians, diplomats, industrial and commercial leaders, deal with masses and crowds which, in distinction from individuals, are stupid, short-sighted, uncritical, emotional, excitable, hypnotizable, helpless, and take idle words for deeds, give easily their admiration to good orators, mistake noise and gesticulation for inner feeling and conviction, applaud and remunerate promises without inquir-

ing as to their well meaning and possibility of being fulfilled, mistake for personal compliments and tokens of individual friendship the flatteries and friendly words dealt out to them collectively by the demagogue from the platform, etc. Add to these causes the abundance of temptations, the difficulty of detecting and punishing public immorality and selfishness, the quasi-impersonal character of public action, the facility to appease one's conscience, if there is any, because of the shifted or divided responsibility, because of the remoteness and impalpability of the connection between the crimes and the resulting social evils; add the powerful suggestion of a time-honored immoral political environment rich in conscience-silencing sophistries; and the facility of damaging the community without detriment to one's own family; and you will easily understand why individual, private vices (murder, robbery, deceit, self-conceit, parasitism, intrigue, egoism) are still being looked upon as national or public virtues, why public morality lags behind or does not keep pace with individual morality, why the reformation of public morality is still waiting for its Luther who shall free it from the dangerous ally it has found in Machiavellianism or Realpolitik with the help of which it throws moral rules overboard and emancipates itself from the restraints of private morality, instead of taking the latter for its guide.

Another reason for the predominance of immorality in public or political life is the following: The honest, straight-minded citizens are unorganized and lack either wealth, or information about community affairs, or leisure, or unscrupulous boldness, or the stimulus of the hope for material gain, and are, therefore, unable to fight on equal terms with the well-organized wealthy, well-informed, idle, unscrupulous, gain-seeking, professional, crooked politicians. The honest man shrinks from the burden of responsibility imposed by the administration of public affairs when taken seriously. Only the dishonest, unscrupulous, self-seeking, professional politician does not get frightened at the sight of such a burden; because he shifts it on to the shoulders of subordinates, or lets things take care of themselves, that is, he leaves the public affairs a prey in the hands of other rascals and parasites while he merely endeavors to hide from the public the bleeding wounds inflicted upon the social organism by these unofficial parasites with his connivance. The honest man shrinks from positions of authority because he takes the duties or responsibilities thereof seriously and hence fears he won't be able to live up to them; while the unscrupulous professional politician hunts for such positions because of the privileges and grafting opportunities that go therewith and because he never thinks of really assuming the burden of duties that is also supposed to go therewith: he merely pretends to carry the burden while in reality unloading it upon others.

In order to purify the political arena of intra-social criminals, parasites, morally obtuse self-seekers, who take advantage of the people's indifference to or ignorance of its general and remote interests, it is necessary that honest workers be protected against unemployment, that they be better remunerated and given more leisure, more opportunity for acquiring knowledge, information and control over community affairs.

To purify politics, altruism ought to be just as important a requisite as ability or capacity. No man, no matter how able he may be, should be considered fit for a political career if he has not given proof of being an altruist, a friend of all good and honest people. For just as truth reveals itself only to truth-lovers, to men who make it their life's task to seek for it and to cultivate it, just so social

happiness can result only from institutions devised and guided by men who identify their own happiness with that of the community, nation, and of the whole human species.

First of all, however, it is necessary that the people have their eyes opened to the real, mercenary mission of present-day politics and to the causal connection between "big business" or between our individualistic, competitive regime and corrupt politics. When this indissoluble connection will be clear to the people, then they will grasp that it is impossible to purify politics without changing at the same time the economic basis of our social organization; they will understand that it is not enough to entrust public offices to so-called "good men"; they will understand that good men can not accomplish anything unless they stand for good principles, that is, for solidarity, co-operation, genuine democracy or socialism. Since, however, the age-long experience of all nations teaches that even genuinely good men are not good enough to administer other people's interests without their co-operation, the people enlightened by agitators will insist upon participating in, upon exerting control over, and upon reserving to themselves the ultimate decision upon, all matters concerning the general welfare; an enlightened people will also come to see that all political, civil and other rights are castles in the air if not built upon economic rights or economic security and independence, that is, upon the inalienable right to remunerative employment and to the same opportunities as the rest, which right implies, of course, the gradual socialization of agriculture, industry, mining, commerce, banking, transportation, etc.

The moral genius teaches that genuine rulers or leaders of the people could not grow fat and look with indifference upon the wretched, miserable, care-worn life of the masses entrusted to their guidance and protection. Just as in the individual organism the brain suffers and finds no rest as long as any part of the body is in an abnormal, morbid condition; just so in the social organism genuine rulers, who are the social brains or the depositaries of the highest social consciousness, would not look so prosperous and happy, would not feast and find so much time for sports, hunting, or other stupid amusements while the masses are suffering, and would not so shamelessly draw exorbitant salaries as do those who are looked up to as such. Just as in the individual organism the seat of the soul or of intelligence has been for a long time localized in various parts of the body, even by such a mighty thinker as Aristotle, until at last its true seat—the brain—has been struck upon; just so in the social organism the masses look for the seat of social consciousness and initiative, not to the thinkers, ideal publicists, agitators, socialists, anarchists, communists or other revolutionists, but to a group of self or party-appointed parasites who pose as rulers, philanthropists, temporal or spiritual leaders, diplomats, etc., who in reality constitute an excrescence, a social cancer, a parasitic growth upon the social organism, drawing most of the blood and nourishment to itself, thus causing starvation in the rest of the social body. These politicians or disguised parasites who masquerade as rulers, legislators, statesmen, protectors, advisors, teachers, official scientists, etc., are not restrained, in their bleeding of the toiling masses and in their persecution of all honest men standing in their path, by any moral scruples or higher aspirations, but merely by self-interest and by fear, viz., by the fear of death- and jail-defying agitators, by the fear of being dragged into the day-light of publicity while conspiring in the dark, by the fear of losing the confidence and the votes of the

masses, by the fear of being unmasked by rival parasites, by the fear of going too far beyond the limit of human endurance, and by similar base or sordid considerations.

(a) Can One Be Publicly Immoral and Privately Moral?

I can imagine how an honest, peaceable citizen can become occasionally immoral, violent under the pressure of crowd suggestion, collective delirium, crowd intimidation. I can also understand how a naive, straightminded, unselfish individual, thirsty for self-importance, under the influence of mentally intoxicating sectarian preachings, can commit crimes in the conviction of serving a high social ideal. But it is hard to imagine a man devoting himself to politics, making a profession out of it, without carrying the moral duplicity, unscrupulousness, hypocrisy of the political arena over into his private life; for even accomplished actors carry their lack of personality, their automatism, their habit of posing and exaggerating, from the stage over into practical life. Moreover, as a rule, it is not politics which destroys men's morality; but men of little morality and great vanity, or of parasitical proclivities, take to political professions; just as it is not the stage which makes actors, but it is the born actors who are drawn towards the stage. If politicians, demagogues, public men go to church, give charity, are jolly fellows, act always friendly, pay their debts in private life, court their wives, remain on good terms with everybody; it is no proof that they really love God, their fellowmen or their wives. They act thus merely because it pays, merely in order to remove all suspicions as to their real but hidden criminal life, and because there is not much profit in acting immorally towards a few individuals or, in short, this is part of their game. In public as well as in private life, the politician is guided, not by convictions or by moral sentiments, but by his personal interests and outside or social pressure.

(b) International Morality and Immorality.

Just as in an anarchical, ill-regulated community, in which the lives, the independence, the rights of the individuals are not protected and the means of existence are uncertain, the whole energy of every individual must be pressed into the service of self-love, self-preservation, and no surplus energy is left over to develop into sympathy, tolerance, morality, solidarity; just so are the various nationalities still separated by so many barriers, by so many artificial material and intellectual obstacles, the intercourse between them is still so much restricted that a mutual understanding and sympathy are still in the embryonal stage, and hence a true international morality does not yet exist, nay, it is even looked upon as impossible, as an absurdity, as a contradiction in terms by historians, economists, jurists, philosophers, who more or less intentionally invent theories to support the international immorality of diplomats and of governments from whom they get in exchange professorships, sinecures, titles of nobility, diplomatic posts, and other worldly rewards.

With increasing intercourse or intercommunication between races, nations, social classes, there goes along a decrease in racial, national, and class prejudices, antipathy, megalomania; just as the natural self-importance and over-rating of its own abilities decreases in the child when it comes in contact with other children and with strangers with whom it can compare itself and from whom it can hear more impartial criticisms than from the members of its own family. An

individual, unless he be rich or influential, can not indulge his predatory propensities nor can he over-estimate his own value with impunity and without being severely and pitilessly checked by his neighbors, fellow-citizens. But as long as social classes, different nations and races, do not come in close contact, the same individual can easily, with impunity, nay, with the certainty of being approved, indulge indirectly in predatory hopes, in personal megalomania and in personal selfishness by indulging in the glorification of the social class, of the nation or race, to which he belongs; by indulging in collective (class or national) egoism and megalomania, in collective hatred and predacity euphemistically called patriotism.

(*a'*) Factors of International Tolerance.

If knowing, feeling, and doing are inseparable, correlated components of any mental process, it follows that it is not correct to say that people agree more in feelings than in ideas, that feelings are social and ideas are individual. The truth is that if people agree in certain sentiments they also agree in the corresponding ideas and actions. The reason why sentiments seem to be more of a common property than ideas, is the fact that sentiments and actions, being visible, centrifugal, momentary, outer manifestations of ideas, are for this reason contagious and compel outward, actual imitation and adherence. A social animal instinctively adapts itself to its social environment, i. e., it has the need and the ability of doing the same actions and expressing the same feelings as the other members of the group. Identical actions and identical emotional expressions tend to arouse identical ideas. An original man can afford to cling to his ideas which are the centripetal, invisible, innermost components of his mental processes; but he can not with impunity remain always impassive when others perform actions and express feelings different from his own, nor can he imitate others' actions and emotional expressions without affecting thereby his own ideas, nor can he expect tolerance of his own ways from such irritable, self-conceited and self-seeking animals as men usually are. If he wants to preserve his peculiarities, originality, or individuality, he must either keep at a distance from others, or he must be in a position to impose upon others his ways of acting.

If economic interests or external circumstances compel men of different types, classes, nationalities, races to mingle frequently with each other, there arises an interested, half-hearted, partial tolerance of *some* different ways of acting and feeling. This tolerance of *some* different ways is gradually extended to *all* and *any* other ways. The tolerance of differences or variations in individuals belonging to other classes, nations and races, from interested, half-hearted, compulsory, partial, temporary tolerance, becomes disinterested, whole-hearted, self-chosen, total, habitual tolerance, after having passed through an intermediate stage of proselytizing or of forcing upon others one's own beliefs, customs, language, so-called culture.

Foreign trade, colonization, missionary or proselytizing agencies, conquest of foreign lands, admission of emigrants, which were or are primarily intended for exploiting, selfish, profit-seeking, predatory purposes, turn out in the long run to be factors in promoting first international, then individual, tolerance, originality, liberty, morality. While the conquerors claim, particularly in more modern times, to carry on war for the purpose of civilizing the so-called backward peoples, it is in reality they, the conquerors, that are being civilized, tamed, refined by the

conquered; whereas the latter lose in this process part of their former morality, kindness, peaceful disposition. On the whole, however, the moral level of mankind is raised.

The conquerors who rob a people of its collective or national independence, sooner or later increase the individual independence and safety of its members. Being too intent upon watching, subduing or crushing the dethroned and the would-be ruling element of the conquered people, being too intent upon frustrating the plots and conspiracies of this element, the conquerors must needs endeavor to win over the people by respecting and even increasing the individual freedom, the freedom from domestic tyranny, of the common people and of the genuine intellectuals, who have no ambition to rule, graft, be in the lime light, mingle in politics, and hence have no enthusiasm for or interest in schemes for the overthrow of the foreign rulers as long as the common lot is more bearable or at least not more unbearable than it was under domestic rule and as long as the only choice is between two evils, between domestic and foreign, local and central, home-grown and exotic, democratic and aristocratic despotism or parasitism.

The conquerors who try to assimilate the conquered, that is, to impose upon the latter their own national ideals, religion and conception of life, by teaching them to see the errors and frauds underlying their old, inherited beliefs, fail in this purpose, nay, they unintentionally prepare the minds of the conquered to discover at the same time the errors and frauds that gave birth to the new beliefs. Thus the Hindus and the Musulmans who receive instruction in British colleges, cease to be Hindus or Musulmans without becoming Christians; the Jews educated in Christian institutions of learning not only free themselves from the medieval darkness of their orthodox brothers, but also surpass their Christian colleagues in intellectual courage, broad-heartedness, cosmopolitan spirit or humanitarianism; etc.

The conquering or stronger bands of plunderers, which displaced and hold in check the many weaker bands of extra and intra-social bandits, and which gave rise to many of the existing governments, will in time become absorbed by the nations and will develop into socially useful organs, just as many a poacher has been turned into a faithful gamekeeper, and many a pathogenic sort of microbes has been pressed into the service of the individual organism.

While the subjugation of peaceful, agricultural, pastoral tribes, nations, races is a regrettable and morally harmful thing, it is not so with the subjugation of less bellicose predatory tribes by the more bellicose, for only in this manner are the predatory tribes reduced in number and trained in the arts of peace or of production, just as within our commercially predatory nations the less predatory merchants, manufacturers, financiers, etc., are enslaved, tamed to a certain extent, and transformed into useful, productive citizens by the more predatory founders of trusts.

(*b''*) The Ruling or Parasitical Classes the Cause of International Immorality and Anarchy.

Left to themselves, i. e., without a parasitical ruling class, the various pastoral and agricultural communities, tribes, nations living on the surface of our globe would not communicate on any large scale with each other, the exchange of

fertilizing ideas would not be very intense, i. e., the general intellectual progress of mankind would be slow in the absence of mutual group influences but more evenly and sanely distributed than at present, technical progress would be still slower in the absence of interested capitalists to lay out the required expenses. But, on the other hand, no tribe or nation would deliberately set out to prey upon other tribes or nations, either openly or under some pretense of self-defense, of an insulting provocation, of civilizing or humanitarian intentions, etc. There would be no intentional immorality, no group parasitism in the form of offensive or defensive wars, of obtrusive international commerce, of obtrusive proselytism, etc. There would reign apparent harmony between the various nations, due, not to mutual understanding and mutual affection, but merely to natural mutual indifference, to lack of contact, to lack of natural conflict: there would reign international an-harmony, international a-morality which, owing to a voluntary exchange of commodities, owing to increasing intercourse and multiplying points of contact, would gradually merge into international harmony and solidarity.

But the class of parasitical pseudo-superior men (the plutocrats, theocrats, rulers, warriors, diplomats, hereditary aristocrats) which arises either within the communities, tribes, nations themselves, or is formed by the descendants of some primitive nomadic invaders and conquerors, have a personal interest, or feel impelled by sheer predacity, to maintain a state of international anarchy, to instigate their subjects to prey upon or fight against other weaker or more peaceable tribes, especially when they see that their prestige is declining, their titles disputed, or that their own tribe can not supply any longer sufficient means of gratifying their own greed and that of their multiplying henchmen and progeny, or that the exploited, disinherited classes are on the way to rebellion. For this purpose, the rulers and their allies (the Church, the press, the educators) assisted by the capitalistic classes which profit by war (merchants and manufacturers in search of markets, speculators, manufacturers of arms and explosives, etc.), appeal to the slight or passive racial and national antipathies which they fan into a flaming, active racial hatred and enmity; they stir up old prejudices, and infilter into the minds of their subjects new imaginary reasons for hatred and new prejudices against the tribes to be preyed upon; they arouse the nomadic instincts, the slumbering fighting or predatory propensities of the philistines; they pervert the moral notions of the masses by extolling the virtues incidentally brought out by war and overlooking its anti-social effects, as well as by extolling as national, public, extra-social virtues what goes otherwise under the name of private, individual, intra-social vices, and denouncing individual virtues (compassion, frankness, etc.) as national vices (treachery, disloyalty, etc.); they drown the voice of the normal or motherly woman's natural aversion to war by appealing to so-called higher, patriotic duties; while reserving for themselves the privilege of keeping away from the firing line, of being secretly cowards and anxious to preserve their dear, precious selves, they hypnotize their subjects into a state of self-forgetfulness, self-denying, self-sacrificing boldness; while keeping for themselves the material benefits and the public honor resulting from the subjugation of other nations, the rulers allow their subjects and soldiers to feel privately proud over their imaginary superiority and importance and over the territorial expansion of their stepmotherly country. Both rivals, the republican and the democratic politicians, the liberals and the conservatives, or what-

ever names the antagonistic parasitical gangs may assume, as well as all rival churches and parasitical organizations, join hands in persecuting, and throwing opprobrium upon, their common enemy, the socialists, the anarchists, the moral geniuses, the independent thinkers, who try to de-hypnotize the masses, to awaken them from their post-hypnotic beliefs and pursuit of imaginary foes, to show them that international immorality, racial hatred, wars, have no reasonable justification whatsoever and no social usefulness; that cosmopolitanism and patriotism do not exclude each other; that most middle men, financial speculators, the army, hereditary and party-appointed rulers are dangerous parasites who stifle the intellectual development of men and reduce the nations to flocks of sheep; that the protection given to a nation by its time-honored ruling class against the attacks of other nations is purely illusory; nay more, these attacks are provoked by the military and ruling castes themselves who are steadily on the lookout for loot and who betray their real predatory nature in their hostility and contempt towards the civilians whom they claim to protect; and that, whether conquerors or conquered, the nations do not fare any better than they did before.

Of course, since everything in this world partakes both of good and evil, it requires a good deal of intelligence, knowledge and analytic ability to strike the balance between the two sides; but it requires mighty little intelligence on the part of the beneficiaries and paid defenders of the existing order in general and of the military regime in particular to justify it by expatiating on its few good points and by closing their eyes to its preponderating evil effects.

It is strange, however, that even judicial, impartial writers like Ferrero should justify warfare in earlier, if not in the present, times by the usual, worn-out sophisms as well as on exactly the same sophistical ground as pickpockets use in justifying their business, on the ground, namely, that in those times money was hoarded away and warfare was the only means of bringing it into circulation. As a matter-of-fact, war has never been of any usefulness to mankind, except indirectly, unintentionally, partially, temporarily, as a means of defense, as a signal of warning, etc., as every evil, all suffering, every failure, every stumbling block can not help being. To justify warfare on the ground that it has *some* good effects, is just as absurd as to advise men to seek failure, defeat, pain, obstacles, to court danger, to expose themselves to robbers, to abstain from abolishing poverty and from helping the poor in their struggle for bread, etc., on the ground that failures and obstacles may prove fortifying, that suffering often ennobles, that struggle eliminates the unfit and develops courage, that dangers teach precaution, etc., as if life had not plenty of unlooked-for difficulties in store for us, worthier or constructive ends to strive after, better pursuits to engage in than to train ourselves in the art of the acrobat, to play the hero or the conqueror of self-inflicted pain, and as if man did not have any higher mission on earth than to battle every day with hunger or with unnecessary self-created obstacles.

In order to transform the masses into docile servants ready to allow themselves to be slaughtered or worked to death for the benefit of the ruling classes, it is steadily dinned into their ears, from the pulpit and platform, at school and in newspapers, that they are worthless, sinful, helpless creatures existing merely on sufferance, and that it is their sacred duty to look up with awe to the classes that "neither spin nor toil" as their God-anointed shepherds and as the rightful owners or administrators of all the natural resources. From early childhood

the exploited masses are trained to fall immediately into an hypnotic trance or state of humility, credulity, stupid submissiveness, readiness to follow blindly their hypnotists and to do the latter's bidding at the mere pathetic, rhetorical or unctuous mention of the words: For the sake (or in the name) of our Lord, God, flag, king, country, constitution, nation, traditions, liberty, national culture, ideals, honor, purity, etc. If men were not stultified by official hypnotizers, often hypnotized themselves, they could easily see that the proper way of securing peace is, not by fighting nor by hypocritically preparing for defense, but by abolishing the brutal and brutalizing military caste; for nations, unlike single individuals, will never set out to attack an unarmed nation whom no amount of diplomatic sophistry and intriguing will dare to accuse of secret aggressive intentions.

CHAPTER IV.

Sexual Morality and Immorality.

SEXUAL morals, like the morals of other walks of life, are, with the philistine, purely or largely of an economic nature: not so much a matter of inner conviction and feelings as of pure self-interest, externally imposed ways of living, pure economic considerations, pure outside pressure—both economic and social. To the love-philistine marriage, conjugal life, the bringing up of children, is nothing but, or is mainly, an economic problem, a business transaction, an exigency and indication of his social rank; whereas the love-genius is apt to lose entirely sight of economic and so-called social considerations. If the love-philistine is monogamous, it is simply because and so long as he or she can not afford polygamy; and if the rich love-philistine lives outwardly a monogamous life, and does not dare to openly indulge his or her polygamous propensities, it is because of social pressure or public opinion, it is because he or she fears the loss of reputation and the disagreeable results entailed thereby. And all this trouble is stirred up by the prosaic question of the food supply. Make the latter secure and abundant for all, then most of the problems or taboos of sexual morality will shrink into nothingness.

In the sphere of sexual love one can distinguish analogous types of men to those observed in the economic and in the intellectual world. Thus the pseudo-lover degrades love and marriage to a commodity, a plaything, to a source of selfish amusement or gratification of vanity, or makes it subservient to his self-seeking, materialistic pursuits. The genuine lover or love-genius takes love seriously and is willing to work for it, to do his utmost to deserve it. The philistine type of lover looks in the future life-companion for mere physical excellency, bodily maturity and chastity, health, muscular strength. The artistic type of lover requires mainly beauty. The intellectual type requires congeniality, soul-chastity, intelligence, originality, mental strength. The most comprehensive or philosophical type of lover requires moral beauty and moral maturity in addition to an optimum amount of physical and intellectual superiority. A normally evolving individual passes through these stages before reaching the marriageable age and never relapses into a lower plane.

Just as intellectual superiority is not yet necessarily bound up or correlated with moral superiority, just so does it not yet go together with sexual superiority. Thus many an intellectual philistine prefers to mate with an intellectually superior woman rather than with a woman having a fine physique but an undeveloped, childish mind; whereas many superior men, particularly poets and artists, stand sexually on a philistine level or lower still, that is, on the level of simian sensuality more or less disguised under a crust of poetry. Likewise among women: those poor, uneducated factory girls who flock around intellectual fighters or heroes (agitators, lecturers, debaters, etc.), stand on a much higher sexual level than the girls and ladies of the "smart set", who, while priding themselves on their so-called education, do not feel ashamed to go crazy about some uneducated, stupid military hero, athlete, ball player, prize fighter, army officer, explorer, aviator, thus betraying that they stand, like their soldier-crazy servant

girls, on the lowest sexual level of jungle life. On the highest sexual level we find the small minority of truly refined women who are attracted to the calm, peace-loving, notoriety-shunning thinkers.

The honesty and the dishonesty (rapacity, greed, parasitism, etc.) of the economic world are also reflected in the sphere of sexual love. Thus the sexually honest are ready to give away their hearts or love for the love of the adored one. The sexually dishonest—the sexually vain or greedy, the flirts, coquettes, sexual parasites or don Juans, free lovers, polygamists—strive to conquer the entire opposite sex, to monopolize its love, without ever dreaming of giving a bit of genuine love in return. Sexual justice gives as much love as it receives, or an equivalent amount: if one of the lovers feels inferior in attractiveness, he or she tries to make up for it in increased love and decreased jealousy. Sexual altruism gives more than it gets or expects. If the philistine lover is often seen to do much more for the beloved being than he or she will ever receive in return, it is not necessarily out of sexual altruism: it may be due to the inner conviction of his or her own worthlessness, or to sexual impulsiveness. The very same love-philistine is ready to scorn and to trample upon genuine love when offered to him or her, for he or she can not conceive how an individual of the opposite sex that is worth anything could be willing to waste disinterested love on such worthless specimens as he or she. If the intellectual lover, on the other hand, is often seen to withdraw his love from a woman who does not reciprocate it, it is not always out of sexual egoism or conceit: it may be because he comes to the conclusion that the woman does not reciprocate his love on account of her being a philistine type of lover, that is, intellectually undeveloped and hence uncongenial to him.

The sexually honest or democratic man is monogamous and constant in his conjugal sentiments, because his physical love is not divorced from his intellectual love, because he marries out of love and only after having become convinced that he has chosen the right life companion, and because sexual love to him is not merely bodily attraction but also the beginning of an increasingly intimate life-friendship. The subsequently arising friendship and parental love keep his sexual love concentrated upon his life-companion and the mother of his children. His inborn respect for human individualities as ends-in-themselves preserves him against sensuality or against getting tired of his wife as a child gets tired of a toy, and also against jealousy or against treating his wife as a piece of property and resenting as a personal insult or injury a change in her sentiments towards him. Of course, what has been said above about the sexually honest man applies *mutatis mutandis* to woman as well.

Just as during the pre-adolescent age (from the age of ten to fourteen years) the boy recapitulates the tribal period with its migratory, fighting, plaguing, thieving and other economically dishonest propensities; just so does the age of adolescence and puberty recapitulate, if left unguided, the sexual dishonesty of primitive men. If I speak, therefore, of the sexually honest man I have in mind the average man of mature age and the exceptional youths who happen to be free from recapitulating the harmful or at best wasteful stage of sexual immorality, the "sowing of wild oats" stage. The sexually honest man never courts a girl without having serious intentions of making her his life-companion. He neither buys love nor obtains it by deception or compulsion, but tries to earn it by loving in his turn and by expressing his love in actions. If prevented by the modern

fierce competition from marrying, he prefers the occasional sexual intercourse with professional prostitutes, although it is nauseating to him, rather than flirt with, let alone seduce, decent and serious minded girls. If his sexual love happens to be morbidly platonic, that is to say, if his heart can not go out to a real, imperfect woman, burdened with the shortcomings inherent in or peculiar to her sex, but merely to his idealized, imaginary, phantomatic conception of her; he honestly takes the consequences thereof, that is, he rests contented with the ethereal, spiritual gratification of mere courtship or rather friendship and abstains from conjugal life in order to avoid disillusion and domestic infelicity. Likewise, the sexually honest intellectual women whose intellect has grown at the expense of their reproductive function rest contented with male friendship and abstain from marriage as well as from arousing the sexual passion of men. The human species is less advanced in sexual morality than in economic and intellectual morality. Thus, many a fair-minded and economically honest individual shows an utter lack of moral conscience in sexual matters. The majority of women are unscrupulous in alienating the affection of other women's husbands. The majority of men are not very scrupulous in committing adultery. Women are intellectual polygamists; men are bodily polygamists—the so-called Christians and civilized races secretly, and the Mohammedans and backward races openly.

The competitive, predatory or war spirit of the economic world has unfortunately invaded the sexual sphere also: With most, the aim is no longer to find individuals of the opposite sex who satisfy inner needs and love-ideals, but to run after those who are in the public eye, already courted and wanted by others. Likewise, the despotism or hierarchic slavery of the economic world is invading the sanctuaries of domestic life and threatens to poison its democratic-altruistic spirit. In women sexual greed, rapacity, and vanity, flirtatiousness or insatiable love of aimless conquest-making, is much more pronounced than in men owing to their economic dependence on men, which leaves them practically no choice in matrimonial agreements, as well as owing to the vagueness and diffuseness of their sexual needs and ideals, and also because their inherited greed, rapacity and vanity have no opportunity to vent themselves in the economic field or in pecuniary pursuits.

Parallel to the hunt for wealth and power of the predatory class in the economic world we have the more or less disguised hunt of the upper class women for lovers and admirers in the sexual world. The women of the predatory classes and nations having no opportunity to vent their rapacity or pugnacity in the economic or political sphere proper, seek an outlet in the sexual sphere. They do not aim at finding a congenial mate, a life-companion, a partner in the family-raising and home-building business. All they aim at is conquest pure and simple, the subjugation and enslavement of men, the robbing of other women of their lovers or admirers. Unlike their fathers and brothers who are simply sensual or sexually greedy, these upper class women love rapacity for its own sake. They do not care for men for their superior sex or other qualities, but only as pawns in a game. They hunt for men, not because of their excellencies, but only when and because they are hunted by other women. And those who are too unattractive or too old to vent their predatory, competitive or monopolistic propensities in this sex game, vent them in so-called "social activities", in the hunt for "social leadership", in the hunt for notoriety, in underground politics, diplomatic intrigues, in snobbishness or exclusiveness.

Sexual greed is often confounded with sexual light-mindedness and hysteria on account of their outward resemblance. There is, however, a fundamental difference between them: the sexually greedy or the sensual individual sees in individuals of the opposite sex nothing but tools or means for the gratification of his or her sexual desires; whereas the hysterical, superficial or light-minded lover is simply incapable of preventing his or her love from running to waste in all directions and of permanently concentrating it upon a single member of the type towards which he or she feels naturally most attracted. Sexual superficiality, light-mindedness or frivolousness is never, whereas sexual greed is often, accompanied by sexual abnormalities (perversion, inversion, fetishism, etc.) and these abnormalities—in distinction from their pure or unmixed forms caused by repression, continence or abstinence—are phenomena of overflow, overindulgence. The inconstancy of sexual hysterics is due to their need for new stimuli to arouse them from their habitual mental and nervous torpor.

The open practise of polygamy of Mohammedans, Mormons, Africans, etc., and the open practise of free love—even in its worst sense of sexual inconstancy, promiscuity, laxity—advocated by and therefore unjustly imputed exclusively to anarchists are much superior to, and more deserving of toleration because they are by far less harmful and economically or physiologically more justified than, the sham or farcical monogamy degraded to a business transaction and to a cloak for the secret indulgence in polygamous relations of so-called respectable, Christian people, which is a source of much conjugal unhappiness and social evil or degradation. The openly polygamous individuals stand nearer to their genuinely monogamic fellowmen than the disguised polygamists, and are, moreover, comparatively harmless, for they do not mislead, deceive, coerce, obtrude or ingratiate themselves, nor do they make unredeemable promises or arouse false hopes as the latter do. Equally harmless and deserving of tolerance —nay, even of pity, like all the other victims of our unnatural, crippled mode of living—are the sexual perverts and inverts as long as they gratify their passion with degenerates of their own kind.

Just as in the economic field it is the pugnacious, shrewd, immoral, unscrupulous, predatory individual that is most successful under modern conditions of general ignorance, stultification and lack of solidary organization; just so in the field of sexual love most success is reaped by the sexually dishonest individual, that is, by the individual who is incapable of love, at best of constant love, and who does not give any love in return for the love he receives but gives mere promises and the outward signs of love, or who at best expresses much more than he feels and whose feelings never go beyond talk and noisy display. The success of such men with women is due not only to the latter's intellectual blindness, lack of discriminative ability, undifferentiated and confused condition of their mental states and processes, but also because this same type of men are prominent and successful in the economic world and hence appeal to woman's vanity and feelings of weakness and economic dependence or instinctive preference for such noisy, ostentatious, obtrusive, pugnacious, deceitful men who can protect her and provide her as well as her progeny with the comforts of life. Thus we hear that even a philosophically-minded woman like Madame de Stael felt deeply grieved over her failure to become the wife of Napoleon, whom her reasoning self surely despised and knew to be a criminal and a sham, but whom her female instincts or subconscious and imitative self could not help adoring. For-

tunately, for mankind, however, the sexually dishonest men are averse to matrimony or at least to the rearing of progeny, nor can they marry, even if they were so inclined, all the women that flock around them, so that women are compelled to be, bodily at least, monogamous; and fortunately for the average husband, he is not a psychologist and hence lacks all understanding for soul-chastity.

Just as commercial greed selects for survival the stupid and the mercenary types of men, just so does sensuality or the sexual greed of men favor among women the stupidly submissive and the mercenary, parasitical or prostitute types, who in their turn also prefer this low type of sexually and commercially greedy men either because they can more easily exert their power over such men or because such men under the present regime are better fitted to provide their wives with luxuries and to keep them aloof from life's battles.

The advance and growing complexity of our competitive regime—by concentrating into ever fewer hands the opportunities for securing a decent livelihood and for acquiring freedom and wealth; by unnecessarily extending the time of preparation for a career; by multiplying the opportunities for parasitism, that is, for treating one's fellowmen as mere tools; by forcing men to spend their best years in the army; etc.—has brought about a considerable retrogression or rather perversion of sexual morality: the sexual morality, the timely marriages, the monogamous life of the rural population, of many a primitive people, and even of many an animal species, has become a seemingly unattainable ideal for civilized mankind, for city dwellers, for intellectuals; and prostitution has come to be regarded as an unavoidable evil even by such great thinkers as Lombroso, who advises the State to use the female criminals as prostitutes instead of keeping them in prisons. Other thinkers like Sergi foolishly advocate the same freedom of sexual intercourse for girls as is tacitly granted to young men, as if the majority of normal girls were craving for such freedom and as if the hysterical girls did not take such freedom without waiting for anybody's permission. At the other extreme we find old, sexually exhausted rigorists and sexual hypocrites, who do not scruple to preach to and for others what they themselves do not and did not practise, and who propose to put a stop to prostitution by simply advising the young men to preserve their "sexual purity" until some lucky circumstances will allow them to marry; they do not seem to think of the other set of sexual perversions and health-undermining effects resulting from ungratified, repressed natural impulses; they do not seem to know that the only continence or chastity that does not give rise to sexual perversions and inversions (homosexuality) is the one which finds some compensation in love or in the anticipation of conjugal happiness in the near future. Socialism alone sees clearly the cause of and hence the true remedy for this moral regress which manifests itself in the postponment of conjugal life, in legalized or mon-andric and unlegalized or poly-andric prostitution, in mercenary marriages or prudential matches, in the degradation of sexual love to a marketable commodity, to an amusement or means of earning a livelihood, in the divorcement between bodily and intellectual love, in the degradation of women to mere tools. Socialism does not feed anybody on false hopes, patent remedies, or half-measures that lead nowhere, but requires nothing short of economic independence and equal opportunities for all, for men and women alike, as the only cure for the existing social evils, including prostitution or the commercialization of sexual love, and for the evils of enforced continence. Like the repression of any other elemental, vital needs or desires, continence works

harm. Being prevented from expending itself along natural, legitimate, beneficial channels, the specific sexual energy seeks unnatural, illegitimate, harmful outlets, causing perversions, inversions, mental disequilibration or disintegration, and at best mere bodily ill-health. Spiritual and physical sexual love can not be divorced with impunity, for spiritual love is but a superstructure resting upon and drawing stimulation or its sustenance from physical sexual love. Nor can physical love be absorbed into or replaced by spiritual love. And still less can it be "sublimated", that is, directed into or gratified along higher, intellectual or philanthropic channels, as psycho-analysts would have us believe; just as ordinary hunger and thirst can not be "sublimated" or gratified by means of mere symbolic food and drink, by means of prayer and hymns, or by means of charitable deeds. The strange part about this nonsensical pseudo-scientific talk about "sublimation" is that it comes from psycho-analysts, that is, the very men who have called attention to the danger of repressed cravings, to their harmful underground, roundabout, subsconscious ways of seeking gratification.

Under the combined pressures of parental domination, of our irrational economic system and of Christian prudery or sexual hypocrisy, with its stifling sex taboos and stultifying stigma attached to the most legitimate sexual urges, abnormal individuals become perverts or inverts, that is, their sex urges are diverted from the normal biological channels into the channels of other human affections and urges, to the irreparable detriment of all, while normal individuals who are afraid or ashamed to defy such unbalancing restraints seek a covert outlet for their sex urges under the cloak of untabooed or more "respectable" affective outlets: the boy disguises his sexual love under the cloak of fraternal, filial or parental affection, the girl disguises hers under the cloak of sisterly, filial or maternal affection; the old man in love with a young girl and the old woman in love with a youth disguise their love under the cloak of parental affection by "adopting" the object of their love; etc. What Freud calls the Oedipus and the Electra complex is largely fiction or pure mythology and not a normal manifestation of true sexual love: it is merely the amorphous, undifferentiated, vague, groping stage of infantile or philistine affective life, or at best a particular case of the above described two general types of abnormal and covert sexual gratification. Still more fictitious or unwarranted by facts is Freud's erection of homo-sexuality into a normal stage of sex development, intermediate between a so-called Narcissistic or auto-erotic stage and the final or hetero-erotic stage. This pseudo-generalization, like all others, springs from a craving for the glory attached to scientific discovery.

BOOK SIX

Morality, Success, and Happiness Under the Present Regime.

CHAPTER I.

Higher Morality not Compatible with Ambition, and a Hindrance to Success, Under the Present Regime.

MORALITY, like happiness, varies inversely as the intensity and number of our aspirations or desires for success, fame, wealth, power, glory, that is, for external, unsharable possessions or possessions accessible to a few only. It is easier, therefore, for a man striving after self-perfection, knowledge, beauty, love, friendship, sociability to reach the summits of morality than it is for a greedy, vain, ambitious, sensual, luxury-loving man.

To have moral character, i. e., to be truthful, open-hearted, just, altruistic, to act and speak according to one's personal convictions, regardless of others' approval, is a *conditio sine qua non* for self-perfection and self-esteem; but it is a hindrance to material success, to the gain of social recognition or fame. Whoever hunts for success must be ostentatious, deceitful, hypocritical, i. e., he must cultivate appearances to the neglect of realities, as appearances are the only criterion the masses judge him by; he must be ready to change his convictions in conformity with the manner in which he is expected to act by his employers, patrons, admirers, voters; he must act so as to satisfy everybody—in appearance only, to be sure, for in reality antagonistic demands can not be appeased at the same time. Material success under present anarchic conditions depends largely on pleasing and exploiting others. One whose success depends on pleasing different types of men, and not on productive work, or on the performance of specific tasks requiring tangible results: one who mingles with various classes of people, and is liked by all on whom his success depends, ought, therefore, to be morally suspicious, although he is usually clever enough to leave no tangible proof, or rather no legal evidence of his simulation, insincerity, hypocrisy, of his dark, insidious and devious ways of preying upon others' material or intellectual possessions, of his secret alliance with the organized predatory gangs.

Just as in a city built on unlevel ground, on hills and in valleys, or without any pre-arranged plan, one can not reach one's destination by a straight route; just so does it stand to reason that in our present chaotic human society, built largely on rapacity ,exploitation, oppression, profit-seeking, and not with a view to the general welfare, one can not attain success by straight or strictly honest means, that is, by being perfectly truthful, frank, just and altruistic. For as long as the chasms between the parasitical and the productive classes are not yet bridged over and the inequalities of opportunity are not yet levelled, that is, as long as so many men thrive on error, superstition, falsehood and iniquity, it is impossible for the strictly honest and straightforward men to forge straight ahead without coming at every step into collision with all sorts and conditions of parasites and semi-parasites, nay, with their most intimate friends and nearest relatives.

The incompatibility between ambition, success-hunting, popularity-seeking and higher morality, that is, altruism or disinterested love for men, imper-

sonal justice, truthfulness, becomes still more obvious when we consider that the ambitious individuals are too much and constantly preoccupied with themselves, with their dreams of glory, to think of others except as means to further their own ends. Of course, in order to gain popularity, the ambitious individuals must speak and pretend to act in the interest of the people, for otherwise they could not command the attention and enlist the support of the masses whose favor and admiration they are anxious to win. But there can be no doubt about their insincerity and real indifference to the promotion of the general welfare, when we consider how busy they are making friends, intriguing, scheming, keeping down rivals, planning to rise to greater prominence, securing funds from the exploiters, that is, from the very enemies of the people, etc.

Ambition or vanity and the pursuit of wealth are by their very nature insatiable, monopolistic, unwilling to share their objects with others, and hence conducive to discontent, unsociability, selfishness, envy, immorality. Whereas intellectual pursuits, while being insatiable and hence incompatible with enduring contentment, are eager to share their objects or achievements with others, and therefore conducive to sociability, mutual affection, morality.

LEADERSHIP OR SOCIAL SUPERIORITY.

Every impartial and morally courageous observer will agree with me when I maintain that the ability for leadership in every walk of life (politics, religion, industry, finance, etc.), the ability for accumulating wealth and for gaining power or popularity under our individualistic, competitive regime, is due to deficiencies, defects, rather than to excesses, merits; to a minus in moral scrupulousness, in sincerity, altruism, seriousness, rather than to a plus of energy; to a minus in paralyzing influences flowing from moral scruples rather than to a plus of will power and forethought; to ambition and vanity disguised under the mask of wisdom, and not to true wisdom, for it is well known "quam parvo ingenio mundus regitur"; to boldness springing from unscrupulousness, stupidity, ignorance, naivete, aggressiveness, and not to real courage springing from strong conviction, clearness of vision, farsightedness; to the fascination of intoxicating megalomaniacal dreams; to the love of risk, adventure, authority, of rather uncontrolled power; to deception, bluff, posing and not to knowledge and real service; to impulsiveness, indomitable vindictiveness and cruelty towards adversaries, well calculated protection and simulated friendship for hangers-on and adherents. The leader's surplus of energy is rather apparent than real; it is due to singleness of purpose, to the absence or under-development of energy-absorbing many-sided interests, of ideal and altruistic pursuits, of disinterested intellectual preoccupations, love attachments. Simple-minded people are always prone to ascribe the leader's boldness to a feeling of his own superiority, and to mistake it for self-confidence based on positive knowledge and forethought. He pretends to relieve the misoneistic, thoughtless masses of the intolerable burden of responsibility and of forethought by pretending to take it upon himself. This applies, of course, to the ordinary, self-seeking, political, parasitic, professional, pseudo leaders who impose themselves by force, intrigue or political machinations, who are not expected, for whom the soil has not been prepared by social circumstances, and who lead by compulsion, intimidation, deception, bribery. A Confucius, Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, Ghandi, Kagawa, Karl Marx, Lenin, Calles, Tolstoy, Herzl,

Owen, Cabet, Verigin, and other social pioneers, did not or do not fall under this rule. But even of these ideal, altruistic, unprofessional leaders, who led or tried to lead by persuasion and with the consent of their followers, we may say that they did not or do not live up to their potential idealism; their actual individuality remained behind their potential individuality, because they had or have to act directly upon the impure feelings and obtuse ideas of the intellectually blind mass. Whereas the morality of the average, professional or office-seeking socialistic, communistic or ethical leaders is of a comparatively inferior quality and less pure than that of many a plain adherent.

Professional leaders, organizers, politicians, so-called successful men, social superiors, and the other brands belonging to the tribe of self-seekers, are as a rule instinctively, congenitally a-moral, or im-moral. They lead a life of moral duplicity, of moral amphibians; their speech never expresses their thought or real opinions; they follow a double moral code, one in private life (in their acting, or practice), which is hermetically sealed, and another one in public life (in theory, in their speech, in their letters written with a view to future publicity), which is always open for inspection. They act morally or immorally according to the requirements of their personal and party interests. Morality to them is a means, a policy, a pure idea, and not an end, an idea-force, an aspiration. Morality may lie sometimes in their overt acting, but never in their covert actions, feelings and intentions. Moral action springs from their reason, but not from their instincts. They know and preach virtue, but they very seldom practice it. They are a living refutation of Socrates' theory of the close connection between the knowledge and the practice of virtue. They rather exemplify Ovid's dictum "video meliora proboque, pejora sequor". Some are endowed by nature with physiological mimicry, i. e., with a strikingly honest-, innocent-, and kind-looking, or confidence-inspiring face. Others have the gift of linguistical and mental mimicry or deception, i. e., the ability of concealing natural cruelty, callousness, falsehood and egoism, and of simulating the opposite mental traits, by means of a rich stock of memorized, studied, easily handled, friendly, heart-winning, and smoothly flowing gestures, words, phrases; the ability of verbally assimilating and thus simulating others' opinions, sentiments and aspirations. Fluency of speech, oratoric ability, the easy handling of sentimental phraseology, ought, therefore, to be considered as a suspicious symptom in a moral diagnosis, for genuine, pure, lasting, deep feeling is inarticulate, shuns display, expresses itself in actions rather than in words, prefers plain, direct speech to ready-made, roundabout, flowery phrases, and does not so easily find suitable terms to express itself, nor can it be revived at will or to order. Oratorical or histrionic ability is usually an effect and a cause at the same time of moral and intellectual shallowness, laziness, exhibitionism, insincerity, instability, one-sidedness, vanity. Why strive for the depth and boldness of humor if the shallowness and cowardice of wit is safer and tastes just as well—if not better—to the masses of philistines? Why acquire intellectual wealth if verbal wealth can conceal intellectual poverty? Why act and think if mere words can pay for deeds and thoughts? Why imbue oneself with enthusiasm over any public cause if the orator's feigned pathos, declamatory voice, wild gesticulation, and excitement over the probable effect of his speech upon the audience are mistaken by the latter for enthusiasm and heart-felt interest in their welfare? Fluency of speech and fluency of ideas do not go together. He who is exclusively, primarily anxious to acquire and express or

communicate clear, definite, fertilizing ideas, has difficulty in finding appropriate words although his linguistic stock is rich. Whereas he who is neither concerned with enriching his own stock of ideas nor with communicating ideas to others, but merely with impressing and deceiving others as to his real empty-mindedness, has no scruples in using bold language, in using any high sounding words that come to his mind or any "bromides" that he has memorized for the sake of dramatic effect, for the sake of bewildering others, and thus he makes upon naive people the impression of being rich both in ideas and words, although he is in reality poor in both.

Just as the water stored during the down strokes in the air chambers of force pumps or other hydraulic machines is driven during the upstrokes by the expanding air to fill up the gap in the stream of the delivery pipes, due to the intermittent action of the pumps, and thus insure a continuous discharge of water; just so the philistine and the pseudo-intellectual, whose thinking apparatus works only compulsorily, reluctantly, sluggishly and intermittently, store in their mental air chamber a reserve of memorized, ready-made, to them meaningless words and phrases which, under the pressure of their expanding air of self-importance or desire for applause, rush to fill up the gaps in their verbal stream whenever it threatens to run dry for lack of propelling ideas and feelings or for lack of suction capacity in their sluggish thinking organ. Only, whereas the philistine disposes of but few transparently empty reserve words or phrases or mental fac-totums serving for all occasions, and talks mostly for the mere sake of talking or of sociability; the pseudo-intellectual, the social superior, the professional leader, preacher, writer, orator, talks for the sake of winning power or control over men, and disposes of many verbal reserves or stop-gaps adapted to each occasion, whose emptiness, staleness, meaninglessness is well disguised or covered up and betrays itself only to the moral critic by their mutual contradictoriness.

Once more, the fluency of speech or oratoric ability of politicians, like the loquacity of women, is due to insincerity, superficiality, one-sidedness, partiality, lack of conscientiousness, thoughtless memorizing of catch-words and ready-made phrases; for every conscientious thinker knows how hard it is to find the appropriate words and often any words at all even for things and actions of which he has clear images in his mind, but which he has not been in the habit of describing before. This ought not to happen if Max Muller's theory were true. On the contrary, if we could not think without words, if thought and verbal expression were as indissolubly connected as he maintained, we ought to have no trouble in expressing ourselves fluently; any idea—no matter how vague—ought to call up immediately the appropriate word without the aid of selection. As a matter of fact, however, he who has a good delivery has not got the goods to deliver. His delivery truck—I mean his speech—runs fast or smoothly though noisily, and rolls over obstacles with hardly any friction or stoppages simply because it is not loaded or because it is empty. To express the same thing physiologically, we may say that fluency of speech or oratoric ability is usually a symptom of hypertrophied speech centres and atrophied thought or conceptual centres, and has as anatomic indications a large mouth, well developed lungs and vocal chords, a high-domed cranium. To the orator words are not vehicles for conveying meanings or ideas but mere combinations of sounds which—by means of variations of intonation, modulation, voice inflection, emphasis, flow of speech,

and similar tone jugglery—he uses for arousing passions, for over-awing, intimidating, exciting, intoxicating, stultifying, or hypnotizing his audience.

One method of gaining leadership, popularity, social influence, is to make each individual, each social class, believe, through a few hirelings and through the mercenary press, that one has already influence, prestige with other individuals, with other classes. The average civilized men—being by nature cowardly, suggestible, predisposed to hero-worship (i. e., to projecting their ideals into distant, legendary, historical, popular personages), afraid of or submissive to those in authority, gregarious, confident in everybody else's reason but their own, afraid of or reverential towards domineering individuals, and afraid of differing from others—hasten therefore to hail the self-styled great man as a leader, as a hero, as a phenomenal being, without having any reasonable basis for doing so: The reason for their hero-worship lies in their own minds, and not in the supposed hero; just as the reason why birds are charmed by snakes lies in their own fear, and not in any mysterious power emanating from the snakes, for they are just as much "charmed" (i. e., paralyzed by fear) in the presence of stuffed dead snakes.

Leaders, politicians, demagogues, popularity-hunters, do not waste their time on furnishing their minds with knowledge and wisdom, on cultivating a taste for the noble, the good, and the beautiful, and still less on learning the art of serving the people. They cultivate rather their memory for names and faces, the art of simulating friendship and kindness, and particularly the acquaintance of individuals through whom they can rise to notoriety, power, remunerative, soft public offices. For this purpose they also cultivate the art of how to play upon the instinct of imitation, or the instinct of following the majority, upon the credulity, vanity, prejudices, emotions, desires and passions of the masses, and thus set free the people's energy which they afterwards press into the service of their own selfish pursuits. The leader or politician knows how to play upon men's craving for recognition and importance—be it reflected importance or importance by proxy. He knows how to change his tune according as he deals with men collectively or individually, publicly or privately, according as he wants to get something from them and through them or something is asked of him. When he wants something for himself—a public office, votes, an increase in salary, etc.—, he makes the people believe it is their battles he is fighting and their interests he is pleading for. In such cases he refers to himself as *your* representative, president, minister, or whatever he happens to be; but when it comes to the division of the spoils or honors, he puffs himself up and speaks of *my* work, *my* administration, *my* constituents, *my* reforms, etc.

Professional, self-seeking leaders deceive the majority of simple-minded men and organize them in order to use the latter's combined power for their own hidden selfish ends; they buy off or bribe the few cunning, dishonest individuals, who could shatter their shaky, sham reputation, by means of favors, sinecures, good positions, etc.; and they kill off—directly or indirectly—the still fewer intelligent open-eyed, but honest individuals who do not sell their convictions to demagogues. They tickle the vanity of the simple-minded by simulating interest in their personal welfare. They lead, not in virtue of their strength, wisdom, social services, merits, but in virtue of the people's weakness, inability to cooperate, and ignorance of its own latent strength, in virtue of the people's stupidity and blind confidence, in virtue of their false promises and pretensions. They rule by means of terrorism, flattery, intrigue, trickery, espionage, suggestion; by sow-

ing discord, dissension, mutual distrust between the members of their flock, following in this the rule laid down by the ancient predatory leaders of men: *Divide et impera.* They become prominent, they make themselves conspicuous, not in virtue of greater ability, strength, courage, creativeness, and not by standing on their own feet, but by assuming the appearance thereof, by hiring "boosting" agents to advertize their supposed greatness, and by strutting around on stilts, that is, by ingratiating themselves with the powers that be, with already established parasitical organizations and with successful parasites, on the one hand, and by unscrupulously climbing upon the backs of inconspicuous individuals, on the other hand, an then noisily expounding or pretending to carry out the ideas stolen from the latter. They ride into power on a tide of social forces brought into being by innumerable obscure and self-sacrificing individuals.

The clear-headed but hero-worshipping or mercenary writers, who can not help seeing the ordinary leader's lack of superior or constructive ability, try to justify their hero-worship by attributing to the leader some undefinable, unexplainable charm, some magic gifts, "personality", a so-called "magnetic power" —whatever that may mean. They forget, however, to tell us why this magic or magnetic power, if it has any real existence, acts only upon those who have heard about the leader, but fails to act upon those who meet him without knowing who he is; they also forget to tell us why nobody noticed this magnetism before the supposed great man succeeded in pushing himself or happened to be driven to the lime-light; they forget to tell us why this magnetic power exerted upon excited, suggestible, emotionally intoxicated crowds vanishes in the presence of separate, calm, sober, critical individuals; they forget that even in the case of hypnotism proper the conclusion has been arrived at that there is no such thing as a magnetic or hypnotic power peculiar to certain men and emanating from their eyes, and that *any* individual assuming an air of superiority, an aggressive, stern, domineering, threatening attitude, can hypnotize all those who are credulous, timid, docile, susceptible to lose their self-composure and to cringe or abdicate their own will and judgment in the presence of a crowd or under the gaze of an aggressive individual, and particularly those who are hypersensitive, hysterical, somnambulical, abnormally susceptible to subconscious impressions.

Only the sober, independence-loving, self-respecting, unbribable thinker, who is himself a born ideal leader or rather the fore-runner of the persuasive, unpaid leader of the coming democratic age, has the courage to expose the hollowness and danger of blind hero-worship. Only he is able to see and maintain that just as the impulsive degenerate, the sensual or sexually greedy man and the monk or the sexually starved individual are ready to become slaves to *any* woman, (nay, their sensuality could be aroused even by a man dressed up as a woman) because they are slaves to their own burning passion, and because or as long as she succeeds in keeping other women out of the way, and not because of any magnetic or diabolic power emanating from her or because of her superiority over other women, just so the masses of greedy and starved city dwellers, the hordes of men detached from Mother Earth, are so badly in need of organization, of some sort of order and some semblance of security that they are ready to fall under the spell of *any* self-appointed leader or self-anointed messiah who is sufficiently unscrupulous, bold, conceited or naive to promise them salvation, emancipation from their state of misery, inarticulate fear, confusion, inner dis-

sension and mutual distrust: they are ready to bow before *any* bold, noisy, self-important, domineering, grandiloquent individual, because they are born slavish hero-worshippers, because they are painfully conscious of their blindness, inability to cooperate or to agree among themselves and helplessness, and because or as long as he succeeds in keeping other would-be leaders out of the way, and not because of any mysterious hypnotic power exercised by him or because of his superiority over other so-called men of action, or because of any constructive, organizing, leading ability.

A sober thinker like W. Trotter (see his luminous book, "Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War", which is somewhat vitiated towards the end by his frankly avowed and under the present war-mad circumstances a little excusable prejudices against the Germans that lead him to attribute to the latter alone the wolfish qualities found in reality in various proportions in the predatory philistines of all nations and races) sees clearly that "if a man is fluent, dextrous, and ready on the platform, he possesses the one indispensable requisite for statesmanship; if in addition he has the gift of moving deeply the emotions of his hearers, his capacity for guiding the infinite complexities of national life becomes undeniable. Experience has shown that no exceptional degree of any other capacity is necessary to make a successful leader. There need be no specially arduous training, no great weight of knowledge either of affairs or the human heart, no receptiveness to new ideas, no outlook into reality. Indeed, the mere absence of such seems to be an advantage; for originality is apt to appear to the people as flightiness, scepticism as feebleness, caution as doubt of the great political principles that may happen at the moment to be immutable. The successful shepherd thinks like his sheep, and can lead his flock only if he keeps no more than the shortest distance in advance. He must remain, in fact, recognizable as one of the flock, magnified no doubt, louder, coarser, above all with more urgent wants and ways of expression than the common sheep, but in essence to their feeling of the same flesh with them. In the human herd the necessity of the leader bearing unmistakable marks of identification is equally essential. Variations from the normal standard in intellectual matters are tolerated if they are not very conspicuous . . . . . ; variations from the moral standard are, however, of a much greater significance as marks of identification, and when they become obvious, can at once change a great and successful leader into a stranger and an outcast . . . . If a leader's marks of identity with the herd are of the right kind, the more they are paraded the better. . . . A people at war feels the need of direction much more intensely than a people at peace, and as always they want someone who appeals to their instinctive feeling of being directed, comparatively regardless of whether he is able in fact to direct. This instinctive feeling inclines them to the choice of a man who presents at any rate the appearance and manners of authority and power rather than to one who possesses the substance of capacity but is denied the shadow. . . . . It is touching to remember how often a people in pursuit of this ideal has obtained and accepted nothing but melodramatic bombast, impatience, rashness, and foolish, boasting truculence."

The strength, reputation or authority of parasites or exploiters is entirely fictitious. It does not reside in them or in their abilities and resourcefulness. It comes merely from the fact that the people are divided and ignorant of their

own strength. The strength and courage of exploiters is that of a coward who shows boldness as long as he can hide himself behind institutions, conventions, associations, fraternities, casts, hired scape-goats; as long as others believe in him and as long as his victim, ignorant of his own strength or ability, does not face him or shows fear. The strength and glory of exploiters will vanish into thin air as soon as we break their unapproachableness and look more closely into their stupid, criminal faces; as soon as the serious-minded and honest people come to realize that it is high time for them also to organize themselves, as the frivolous and dishonest have done heretofore in order to usurp power and privileges.

Just as no man can be as easily fooled as the bluffer who is stupid at bottom; just so can no man be as easily frightened and brought to his knees as the bully, the terrorist, who is a coward at heart; for in order to exploit other people's fears one must be, and feel the tortures of being, haunted oneself by fear or suspicion. Therefore, if Jack London, in his masterly novel *Iron Heel*, allows himself to be carried away by the false prediction that the capitalists will put up a bitter fight before they will relax their hold upon the masses, it is because he overlooked the fact that the exploiter's courage and fighting spirit live only so long as he can find enough fools, traitors, or starvelings among his victims to fight his battles against their own fellow-victims and as long as his victims remain unorganized.

The judges of juvenile courts admit that the worst boys become the leaders of boys' gangs. If these honorable gentlemen were not afraid of and dependent on political bosses, heads of corporations, etc., they could easily perceive that what they observed in juvenile gangsters is equally and more disastrously true of disguised grown-up gangsters: professional politicians, financial schemers, privilege-hunters, climbers, self-seekers, commercial pirates, society cliques, pseudo-reformers, etc., and that among these too it is the morally lowest individuals that lead the less unscrupulous and less bold gangsters, through whom they impose then their leadership upon the community at large, upon the entire nation, upon the masses of unorganized honest producers.

CHAPTER II.

Why Morally Superior Men Suppress Their Natural Desire for Social Recognition, Honor, Popularity, Sociability.

JUST as in science, in intellectual progress, we advance inductively, that is, from the known, from the accessible to observation, from facts, particular truths to the unknown, to the inaccessible to observation, to theories, general truths, and those who try too soon to attain the quicker reversed or deductive way of surveying a wide range of new facts from the conceptual heights fail unless they be intellectual, intuitive geniuses who alone have the courage and ability to climb to general truths by following the shorter, straighter but narrow and dangerously steep paths; just so in practical life, in economic or material advancement, we approach, and win the favor of, inaccessible influential people with whom we are not acquainted through people with whom we are acquainted or who are approachable. Whoever does not know or disregards this elementary rule, that is, whoever does not realize that our social organization does not rest as yet upon an impersonal, equitable basis, or is too independent, too anxious to preserve the integrity of his moral and intellectual individuality, to apply this rule, and tries to get along through himself, usually fails unless he be a so-called practical genius who does not stumble over moral scruples and who makes straight for the heights of financial speculation regardless of the slenderness of his available means and social connections, or unless he be sufficiently provided with capital which, owing to our individualistic, parasitic social organization, brings in returns quasi-automatically to its possessor, even if he be an imbecile.

The known impresses its stamp upon the unknown. The prominent, the successful, the publicly known men, impress their individuality or rather lack of individuality upon their publicly less known or unknown vassals or proteges. The more we identify the new, the unknown, with the old, the familiar, the known, that is, the more we mistake analogies for identities, the less rapid is our intellectual progress. Likewise, the more the obscure, the publicly unknown, identify themselves with the successful, the prominent, the political lords, who are usually self-seeking, conservative, conventional, averse to social changes, the less rapid is the economico-ethical progress of human society.

Even superior men are not so many-sided, truth-loving and free from envy, the competitive or monopolistic spirit or trade jealousy, as to be able to appreciate impartially and disinterestedly the merits of a contemporary great man. Even socialistic thinkers, who fight so bitterly against the evils of economic competition, are prevented by an unconscious trade jealousy from doing justice to and from co-operating with each other. So much the less can appreciation of merits be expected from the great mass who are intellectually blind and hence have no direct means of appreciating merit. The mass of the incompetent either believe what one says about his own merits, or infer his merits from his success, renown, reputation, social rank, position, income, etc. This is their only means of appreciating the invisible psychical qualities of men. The only just appreciation and recognition that great men can enjoy (?) is that of impartial, unenvious posterity.

Hence, we can understand why genuinely great men can not pursue sociability, social recognition and distinction without damage to their nobler aims; for contemporary great men expect from their as yet unknown colleagues a certain amount of reciprocation, moral compensation, homage; laymen expect to be dazzled by external appearances; and pseudo-superior men are too eager to monopolize the attention of the public and too averse to sharing it with others, unless they can not help it.

The superior man who seeks psychical solitude or a contemplative life and regretfully renounces success, high position, popularity, fame, social recognition during his lifetime, acts thus under the impulse of the instinct of spiritual self-preservation; for he feels either clearly or dimly that all these goods must be obtained at the expense of his spiritual self, can be obtained only by sacrificing, mutilating, suppressing his nobler self, convictions, ideals, higher pursuits. To save his ethical ideals from fading away, from contamination, the morally superior man submits, therefore, to voluntary seclusion from the turmoils of life.

Horde life or gregariousness is a device for bodily self-preservation, but it leaves no room for individuality, heterogeneity, reasoning, critical thought, for the growth of a psychical self; for horde life, that is, life within small, compact groups (gangs, tribes, villages, small towns, associations) does not remove all fear: it merely removes one kind of fear, viz., the fear of beasts or of wild Nature, and to a certain extent the fear of other groups of men, but it substitutes in its place the fear of leaders and of the majority within one's own horde, crowd, tribe, or organization, the fear of solitude, persecution, starvation within one's own group. A little more freedom is afforded by social life, that is, life in large cities, within complex and less compact communities. Social life allows a certain amount of originality, heterogeneity, but without economic security it is not yet fit to reconcile bodily and spiritual self-preservation and self-development. We understand, therefore, why the balanced superior man does not love solitude for its own sake, as the misanthrope does. To him solitude is only a means, a temporary condition for the unimpeded, free ripening of his convictions, for the unhindered unfolding of his individuality; solitude is also a prime requisite for contemplation and creative reverie; he chooses solitude so as to be under no obligation to patrons, admirers, confreres to close his eyes to whatever truths may prove to be unprofitable and therefore unwelcome to them. Only the fame-loving pseudo-superior man is willing to follow the maxim *De illustribus viris nihil nisi bene.*

Under the present reign of hypocrites, parasites, masked criminals, flatterers wearing only the mask of public servants but being cruel masters in reality, the noble-minded are doomed to a life of abnegation, resignation, self-denial; for the price of material well-being is too dearly paid for by honestly striving people. He who wants bodily comfort, wealth or popularity, ease and luxury, has to pay no less a price than his own soul. We can not serve two masters, especially when they are at war with one another, as is the case with material success and the pursuit of truth or self-perfection. Sham merit reigning almighty everywhere, we can easily understand why the natural love of social recognition and approbation has decayed in the ideal man from the rank of an intentional aim of life and motive of action to that of a fortuitous aim; we can even understand why the moral genius deems it his duty to dissuade the young generations from deliberately pursuing wealth, power or notoriety, and openly to doubt or question the sincerity of the professed idealism, nay, the moral character of the wealthy,

notorious, socially prominent men—to look upon them as guilty until proved innocent, for "there is no mounting to power", as Bacon said, "except by crooked stairs".

Those individuals who strive after the love, praise, admiration, respect of the ignorant and intellectually blind masses, are certainly devoid of idealism and of all genuine merits. For the really meritorious man does not want to be praised, loved, admired blindly, on trust, on the testimony of mere hearsay, or rumor, for qualities in whose existence he can make others believe only by keeping them at a distance and in the dark as to his real self or as to his private intimate life. A really meritorious man would not take upon himself the trouble of life-long deception; he prefers to establish his success on truth by working towards curing the blindness of the contemporary masses or at least of posterity; he prefers post-humous but deserved fame—if he cares for fame at all—to the dishonestly acquired fame during his life-time; he does not want any friends or admirers whose friendship and admiration evaporate upon a closer contact and acquaintance; he prefers the deserved, objective, secure, unshakable love and esteem of a few congenial minds to the undeserved, illusory, subjective, begrudged, easy-to-be-robbed-of love and esteem of the masses, and especially to the bought and dearly paid-for admiration of self-seekers or climbers.

Despotism, slavery, misery, insecurity, an unfavorable or enervating environment, an unenlightened and unappreciative public, an iniquitous social organization, are responsible for the existence of ascetic ideals, ideals of renunciation, self-abnegation, contemplation, Nirvana, other-worldliness, quietism, indifferentism. Democracy, liberty, wealth, security, an enlightened public, a favorable and stimulating environment, on the contrary, encourage ideals of action, worldly success, self-assertion, achievement. Man is naturally optimistic, i. e., his will to live is so strong that he can idealize, or take a pride in, extremes: health and disease; strength and weakness; the past and the future; martyrdom and aggressiveness; the desire to dominate and help others, and the desire to be protected and pitied; wealth and poverty; self-assertion and expansion, and self-denial; ignorance and knowledge; resistance to evil and non-resistance; etc. In other words: man's capacity for adaptation to his social environment, as well as for hoping and aspiring, is so great that if it is prevented from pushing on, it does not come to a standstill, but begins to work backwards; if it is prevented from striving for, attaining to, and hence idealizing, activity, strength, health, knowledge, independence, pleasure, happiness, wealth, fame, the distant realities, future satisfactions, the new, the genuine, etc., it begins to take pleasure in, strive after, find the bright side or good parts of, hence idealize, rest, contemplation, weakness, sickness, ignorance, the morbid, dependence, pain, unhappiness, poverty, obscurity, the near, fictions, illusions, the artificial, present satisfactions, reminiscences, the past, the humdrum, imitations, etc. What has been said about Oriental and Occidental, active and contemplative, democratic and despotic ideals, holds also in an analogous way for the various social classes of the same community in which on the whole one kind of ideal is predominating. Even in a democratic country, with self-assertive and worldly ideals, the morally ideal men, who can not comply with the unscrupulousness necessary for external success, indulge in ideals of contemplation, self-perfection, theoretical preaching, posthumous spiritual power . . . . ; whereas the less scrupulous follow the ideals of action, power, leadership, wealth, social recognition dur-

ing their lifetime. . . . Even in ethical institutions, and in ideal social movements, leadership is in the hands of the less moral. Only the many-sided, balanced, wise men know that the true, healthy, sane ideal lies in the middle and consists in the cooperation or harmonizing of both extremes: of Occidental action and Oriental contemplation; of the love for self-perfection and the desire for recognition or fame; of what Nietzsche, in his pictorial, pseudo-historical, immature way of philosophizing, called the Dyonisian and the Apollonian principle; of Hebraism and Hellenism, i. e., the ethical and the esthetical world-conception.

CHAPTER III.

Intellectual Superiority not Correlated with Practical Superiority, and a Hindrance to Material Success.

REPUTATION, success, presupposes some ability among other qualities, but the converse is not necessarily true. Ability alone does not lead to reputation or success. Opportunity being given, a lesser degree of superiority —nay, mere average ability—is sufficient for gaining a reputation. In every domain of human activity, as a rule, it is not the genuinely superior man who reaps success during his life-time, but the pseudo-superior, sensational, self-advertizing or noise-making type who in addition to semi-superior ability has also the ability and opportunity to make it publicly known and to magnify it in the eyes of others.

The ability to gain a reputation, honor, fame, popularity, means in its ultimate analysis the ability to make noise, to attract attention, to win the favor of men, to advertize oneself, to commercialize or capitalize ideas, to appropriate the ideas originated by others, to look wise, to exaggerate and display one's superiority, to copy the externals of greatness, to cultivate appearances and acquaintances, to make friends or to ingratiate oneself with the powers that be, etc. Both *a priori* reasoning and objective observation show that such an ability does not very well go together, nay, it is by its very nature incompatible, with the ability to create, produce, invent, cultivate knowledge, think out new ideas, go beneath the surface of things, reach truth, for this ability requires solitude, self-forgetfulness, self-effacement, aloofness from the notoriety and power-seeking cliques, disinterestedness, sincerity, etc.

Material rewards and honor go, not to the producer of ideas or of commodities, but to those who have the means or opportunity to advertize and sell them, that is, to the manufacturers, merchants, financial speculators, middle-men, publishers, editors, plagiarists; not to him who does the work, but to him who owns or controls the job or the market and who claims to supervise, direct, plan the work; not to the silent worker, but to the noisy politician, parasite, so-called superior or executive who rides on his back and wields the whip of unemployment or starvation over his head.

It is true that reputation, popularity, success, social prominence, glory, presupposes the possession of some ability for the same reason that where there is smoke there must be a fire. But it is also true that the greater the smoke the less perfect the combustion, i. e., the greater the waste of fuel and heat. Likewise, the greater the noise made by and about an individual the less genuine, productive, creative, socially useful ability does he possess and the greater is the amount of his wasted or misdirected energy and ingenuity; the more attention he pays to outward signs, form, appearances, and the more concerned he is with establishing and maintaining a reputation, or making a favorable impression upon critics, gossips, the press, the masses, the less attention can he pay to content, reality, genuine achievement, public service.

To accumulate wealth does not require any special or superior ability. It only requires intense greed or vanity; it requires that one should consider the accumulation of money, not as a mere means, but as the only aim of life to which everything else, even self-respect and family affection, must be subordinated and made subservient. And, above all, it requires disregard for, and pitiless exploitation of, one's fellowmen.

The economically no longer justified stinginess of the born rich (whose voice is silenced only when their vanity is tickled, or their spirit of outdistancing others is aroused, or their personal pleasure is involved, or vengeance is to be wreaked, or notoriety is to be gained and exaggeration in the press of their grudgingly given donations is assured) and the still less justifiable cleptomania among their females point, respectively, to the original cause of their ancestors' greed or rapacity and method of acquisition, viz.: an obsessive feeling of economic insecurity and thieving through both legalized and unlegalized channels.

The ability of a so-called captain of industry unmasks itself on closer inspection as being just as simple as the magician's tricks. All his ability consists in unscrupulously selling or capitalizing the fruits of the people's labor; in unscrupulously risking somebody else's money while making believe that, impelled by the boldness of far-sightedness, he risks his own; in mercilessly and underhandedly crushing his competitors; in corrupting the public servants; in selecting as managers and overseers men who are willing or compelled to let him have the credit for their abilities in exchange for fat salaries; in exerting over his managers the very simple control—for which it is not even necessary to have studied arithmetic beyond mere addition—of judging their ability by the amount of business, money, votes, or popularity they have brought in, and by the amount of obedience, blind subordination they can command in the workers; how or at what moral price (bribery, wire-pulling, cruelty, prostitution, terrorization, robbery, etc.) these results have been obtained, he does not want or care to know. If these are abilities that deserve being looked up to or glorified as directive, executive, initiative ability, then I do not know what real ability is.

Of course, the predatory individuals themselves claim to be useful members of society, employment-givers, entitled to wealth and honor, and like to attribute their material success to their own efforts and superior ability and not to mere opportunity and the collective efforts of exploited hirelings, nor to their lack of honesty, kindness, sincerity, fair-mindedness, many-sided interests, higher pursuits, nor to the poverty, helplessness, stupidity, lack of solidarity of the masses, while unhesitatingly attributing the financial failure of morally or intellectually superior men to lack of ability, needs for better things, adaptability, energy, perseverance, etc.; just as the religious and other hallucinated or hypnotized people do not doubt the validity or objectivity of their visions, attributing the latter to their more acute senses, to their possessing a religious or *illative* sense, which enables them to perceive the so-called supernatural, and not to their lack of critical-mindedness, consistency, ability for independent and logical thinking, while unhesitatingly attributing the scepticism of unhypnotizable or dehypnotized and intellectually emancipated unbelievers to mental blindness, obtuse perception, the lack of idealism and of the religious sense.

The banker, financier, manipulator of credit and money, likes to attribute his pecuniary success to his own effort and exceptional ability (in face of the fact that his business runs just as smoothly during his absence), instead of giving the

entire credit therefor to the collective effort of employees and to the exceptional commodity handled by him, which has the advantage over all other commodities that it is imperishable, scarce, in universal demand, easily exchangeable at any place or time for any commodity, and requires no special care or expense for upkeep, etc. In this respect, the banker and other predatory individuals are no more intellectually dishonest than the non-predatory individual (opera singer, actor, aviator, explorer, lecturer, professor, popular or syndicated writer, cartoonist, city preacher or editor, etc.) who likewise credits his success to all sorts of imaginary unusual abilities rather than to opportunity (publicity, spectacular performance, popular demand, access to larger audiences, etc.) and to his lesser, more common or purely motor ability, which brings him nearer to the masses and hence assures him greater appreciation on their part than is reaped by his less favored though equally skilled confreres (cabaret singers and performers, chauffeurs, circus performers, sailors, serious writers, private teachers, country preachers or editors, etc.) and by creative or genuinely superior men who are too far above the philistine level to be appreciated at their real worth (composers, playwrights, inventors of flying engines, original thinkers, etc.)

To have abilities is one thing; to know how to transform them into wealth, fame, success, is quite a different thing, is an ability apart; to get wealth, fame, success, by exploiting others' abilities, or by stealing their ideas, is a third kind of ability, although an immoral, self-seeking and parasitical one; the self-seeker understands also how to exploit or capitalize his own rather feigned than real abilities, advantages, social connections, knowledge, popularity, influence, friendliness, advices, sympathy, and even his frowns or smiles. If genius and fame were necessarily bound up together, we should know the names of those innumerable geniuses of the people who have condensed their wisdom in proverbs and their noble sentiments in folk-literature. Not the genuinely superior man who is never in a hurry to publish his original ideas as soon as they arise in his mind but waits until he sees them grouping themselves into an organic, harmonious whole of permanent value—not this Spinoza-type of thinkers become famous during their lifetime, but those pseudo-superior and semi-superior men who hasten to spread their slightest and most immature ideas into magazine articles, those who understand how to exploit current events, actuality, theories and movements which are in fashion, in vogue, sensational, fit for ostentation of intellectual superiority.

In our present individualistic, hierarchic, undemocratic society based upon an inexorable unscrupulous competition among its members, the main requirement for getting and holding a position, as well as for advancing to a higher or more privileged position, is not the possession of specific or unusual ability (for very few occupations require special or exceptional ability, and the remunerative abilities are more widely spread than the successful like to admit) but the possession of influential friends and acquaintances, the unearned privilege of having been born into an influential family, servilism, personal loyalty to one's immediate superior, willingness or ability to prostitute one's body or soul, the ability to please or rather to flatter, to court one's social superiors, i. e., the ability to exploit their foibles or vanity, the ability to conceal one's own poverty, urgent needs, ignorance or incapacity, the ability of self-advertizing, the ability of exploiting the abilities of one's inferiors. Real, unusual, productive ability is rather a hindrance to advancement or success, for our predatory, incompetent

superiors are afraid of competent, creatively endowed subordinates who are naturally self-respecting, self-reliant, independent, unwilling to serve as mere tools, spies, scapegoats, sycophants, unwilling to do the dirty work of their superiors and to take upon themselves the responsibility or blame therefor.

To reap material success, one does not need a high degree of intelligence: all he has to do is to imitate, flatter, serve, ingratiate himself with the successful or prominent, share in their worship at the shrine of the golden calf and be willing to sacrifice his soul to it. If an individual is compelled to follow a line of activity which he dislikes, or from which he desires to get out, his failure in that line is to be ascribed to circumstances and disinclination rather than to lack of intelligence or of ability; for intelligence is but a servant to one's dominant aims, inclinations, instincts, impulses and emotions. Therefore, if an individual places knowledge, truth, altruism, intellectual independence, aesthetical contemplation above material gain, bodily comfort, economic independence, the craving for power, he will usually be unsuccessful in commerce, industry, law, politics, in spite of, nay, because of, his superior intelligence.

In public life, in politics, in the politics of countries, states, cities as well as in the minor politics of the various organizations or institutions, it is always the intellectual pygmies, the colorless or mercenary, cringing parasites, who most anxiously and most easily push themselves—through dark, devious crooked ways, or by standing on others' shoulders or merits—to high, prominent, privileged, conspicuous positions; whereas the great man, the intellectual giant, who stands on his own feet and spurns flattery, scheming, wire-pulling, underhand, cowardly, roundabout ways, meets with all kinds of obstacles and can not help becoming conspicuous, a marked, blacklisted man, the butt of philistine ridicule, and the object of the leaders' hatred, even if he occupies a humble position, even if his bodily or outward appearance is insignificant, even if he tries his best to bow in order to hide his superiority, even if he tries to efface and lose himself among the multitude.

As our entire social organization is pervaded by the predatory spirit, that is, by the desire "to sit down at life's banquet and get up without paying the reckoning" or without giving any services in exchange, or by the desire to prey upon the productive abilities of the disinherited masses and of the genuine superior man; and as there is plenty of productive ability on the labor market; it follows that in order to hold a good, smooth, lucrative position with chances for advancement, one need not have any productive ability: the mere semblance thereof is enough; nay, great ability is rather a hindrance; the only useful ability is that of assisting the successful exploiters and notoriety-seekers in their predatory and bluffing enterprises.

An amusing experimental confirmation or verification of my contention that very little intelligence is required for success in predatory pursuits, such as business, banking, politics, money-making, social climbing, was furnished unintentionally a few years ago by an American psychologist to whom it occurred to apply the Binet-Simon tests for school children to a group of successful farmers and business men. Judged by these tests, every member of the group proved to be on the same intellectual level as ten to twelve year old boys. Particularly amusing—and surprising to the plutolatrous experimenter—was the case of a Mr. A., 65 years old, formerly a successful farmer, later a successful business man, partly retired at the time of the test on a competency of $30,000, for ten

years president of the board of education in a small town, for thirty years superintendent of a Sunday School, former bank director, but who, judged by the Binet-Simon test, proved to be on the same mental level as a ten-year-old boy, that is, a mental misfit. While I personally have no great respect and very little enthusiasm for the artificialities, simplifications, cut-and-dried and stereotyped rules of experimental psychology, I acknowledge that the Binet-Simon tests are fairly conclusive with regard to mental levels though entirely inadequate for the measurement of intelligence itself. Our Mammon-worshipping American psychologist, however, prefers to question the reliability of the Binet-Simon tests as an indicator of the mental status rather than abide by the results of his experiment and admit that very little intelligence is required for material success in our individualistic society.

Another unintentional confirmation of the above contention is furnished by the American politicians who address each other by the appellation "boy" and refer to each other as "one of our boys", thus betraying unconsciously that they look upon each other as intellectually unripe individuals, having the same mental status, the same lack of serious aims, as school boys or rather youthful gangsters.

The ability to please one's social superiors is not due to high intelligence but merely to the fact that he who is more like his master, that is, he who is a born predatory philistine, *feels* better (I do not say *knows* better, for knowledge alone is not a sufficient or infallible guide) what kind of behavior is expected of him, for he expects the same thing of his inferiors. He who belongs to the same parasitic type as his superior or master, has a good chance to win the latter's favor; for he need not be told what is expected of him, he is able to act on mere hints, nay more, he is able to read his master's mind quasi-telepathically, that is, from such fleeting gestures, bodily or facial movements, as would remain unnoticed by, or would be meaningless to, an individual belonging to the sincere, honest, proletarian type. He who poses as wealthier and more influential than he really is, succeeds better than the sincere man. He shows off, not simply because he knows that it is a necessary means for success, but because he is a born liar, Mammon-worshipper, and exploiter of the poor, uninfluential, unprotected. His adaptation to social prejudices is not voluntary, although he usually claims so; it is rather congenital, instinctive, and not a result of unpleasant experiences resulting from sincere behavior. For it takes at least two generations for a voluntary or acquired adaptation to become organized, efficient, infallible.

Vanity, self-conceit, owing to its mere shaky subjective basis, is the most vulnerable and irritable psychical organ of most socially prominent men. Whoever aspires to their favors, to winning success through their intermediary, must keep this fact in mind and handle them very delicately when he comes to touch their weak and irritable spot. And who can handle a man afflicted with a dissatisfied, vulnerable, hypertrophied self-love better than one who belongs to the same class? The morally diseased individual is too busy gratifying the impossible demands of his morbid self-love to have any use for people whose healthy self-love does not fear the serene but chilly heights of truth and who may invite him to expose himself to the same intellectual climate, to which his delicate and frail moral constitution is not adapted; he has no use for people who do not under-

stand how to administer the sweet balm of flattery, which is so badly needed by his incurably diseased self-love and by his guilty conscience. Still less do the vain, morbidly egotistic, morally defective prominent men have any use for the open eyed, critical truth-lovers; for morally defective people, like the bodily defectives, are ophthalmophobic, that is, they fear and hate those who look at their defects or indirectly remind them thereof. The socially prominent pseudo- and semi-superior men mercilessly repress and suppress the open-eyed, critical, truth-loving individuals; just as in their inner world, in their own minds, they repress and suppress any and all self-criticisms which strive to rise into consciousness.

Pseudo-superior, vain, socially prominent men, so-called diplomats, statesmen, etc., stand psychically nearer to women and therefore get along better with them than with manly men, who spurn their roundabout, hypocritical, double-faced, flattering, insinuating ways. For women—owing to their natural weakness, intellectual blindness, need of protection; owing to natural selection which eliminated those rare women who chose their husbands on the basis of merits and not of success, wealth, power—almost instinctively and undeliberately court, admire and love the successful, the favorites of fortune, the so-called self-assertive, the socially prominent, regardless of personal merits; nay, material success or rank is for women the only test of merit, and often they fail to discriminate between fame and notoriety, between harmless notoriety and notoriety for crime or eccentricity. And if the foibles, stupidity, pettiness of the prominent men are so conspicuous that no amount of wealth, popularity, feminine success-worship is able to hide them or to make them appear in a favorable light, then the inborn simulative ability of women is quickly and undetectedly brought into play by the hope for favors, personal advantage, reflected glory or a little bit of notoriety.

Only those who naively and hopefully rush straight into the uncertain battle of life without any *arriere-pensee* or mental reservation to desert the field of battle, to take the roundabout way of parasitism and hypocrisy in case of imminent danger or failure, to drop honesty as soon as it ceases to be the best policy, to break with the moral code as soon as it becomes a hindrance to their success: only those straight-minded people, I say, begin soon to feel the burden of life's tasks and responsibilities, become paralyzed by the fear of failure, are exposed to premature breakdowns, are exposed to being inexorably thrust back by life's stumbling-rocks into the abyss of misery, apathy, vegetation, suicide and insanity. Success or fame is reaped not by the able, honest, genuinely superior men, but by pseudo-superior men who take nobody and nothing seriously but their own dear selves, their own comfort; whose whole life consists rather in exploiting the abilities of the honest, in deceiving themselves and others, even their own family; who pass smoothly through life without betraying their real selves concealed behind the mask worn during their lifetime. This applies to all walks of life, even to beggary. Not only among the workers is success reaped by the selfish, unscrupulous, mercenary, hypocritical, treacherous individuals, who are ready to assist their employers in the exploitation of their fellow-workers; but even among the extra-social criminals it is the "squealers," the "stool-pigeons," the cowardly and treacherous, that lead a smoother or easier life, both in prison and out of prison; only these enjoy immunity from arrest and have a chance to

work themselves up to the rank of within-the-law criminals, prison guards, policemen, detectives, politicians, etc. (For a more vivid picture of these conditions see the masterly novels of realistic novelists, such as Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Arthur Train, Henry Russell Miller, Winston Churchill, Spielhagen, Clara Viebig, George Gissing, etc., etc. . . .; Josiah Flynt's works; "Autobiography of a Thief" by Hutchins Hapgood; "The Goldfish" by Arthur Train; "History of the Great American Fortunes" by Gustavus Myers; "The Abyss" by Nathan Kussy; "The Rise of David Levinsky" by Abraham Cahan; "A More Honorable Man" by Arthur Somers Roche; "Interpretation of History" and "Conventional Lies" by Max Nordau; "The Jungle" and "King Coal" by Upton Sinclair; "Life in a Railway Factory" by Alfred Williams; "A Fight for the City" by Alfred Hodder; and similar truth- or love-inspired works, from which you will learn in a few hours about the real predatory structure of human society and about the real hideous qualities that lead to success vastly more than you will ever learn in years from the voluminous, grandiloquent, mind-confusing writings of academical psychologists, sociologists, criminologists, and lesser intellectual prostitutes such as journalists, professional moralists, preachers, and from the books on success, happiness, will power, efficiency, self-help, self-reliance, the choosing of a vocation, etc., usually written by charlatans who have been unsuccessful in their own profession). If honest, sincere, kind-hearted, and genuinely superior men succeed sometimes, it is due, primarily, not to their exceptional ability or virtues (for exceptional abilities are never confined to single individuals and are very seldom lucrative), but to favorable circumstances, to inherited wealth, to influential friends, to opportunity, to a fortuitous circumstance or mere chance. And if, as has been often remarked, successful men can not tell us satisfactorily how they succeeded, it is not because they have any trade secrets that must not be divulged, or because they are too modest to boast of their superior ability (if they had such ability they would not consult on the sly fortune-tellers, mediums, etc.), or because they do not know themselves how they did it; it is simply because they are ashamed to reveal their unscrupulous, dirty, tricky methods covered under the cloak of business, or because they do not like to admit that they owe their success merely to the combined efforts of hirelings, to the advantage of position, to the power of money, to monopoly, or to favorable circumstances in the bringing about of which they have had no share whatsoever.

Within our competitive, predatory society, where material success is reaped by those only who pursue it exclusively, unscrupulously, relentlessly, without regard for others, there is, of course, very little place or chance of survival for superior men who take pleasure in unremunerative disinterested intellectual or artistic pursuits and altruistic social reforms; there is very little chance of survival for superior women who marry men out of love or admiration for their higher qualities, regardless of material success; the only type of men and women that can escape hard toil and thrive under the competitive system is the morally hideous, mercenary, treacherous, deceitful, materialistic, beastly, prostitute type that sacrifice convictions, truth, ideals, justice, higher affections, everybody and everything, to personal material comfort or to vanity. Not until socialism or universal cooperation, with its solid, broad foundation of economic security and independence for all, is established, can we hope for the disappearance of the

morally hideous type of men and for the advent of a nobler type. Only then will men develop normally, i. e., harmoniously, many-sidedly, or bodily, intellectually and morally at the same time. Only then will men approach the type of universal genius, which is the only normal, well-balanced human type. Whereas under the present anarchical, chaotic, competitive, oppressive system we can hardly find any normal men: Among the materially successful, among the born rich, we find abnormal development of body at the expense of intellect and morals, which remain hideously, repulsively, ridiculously stunted or one-sidedly developed; among the materially unsuccessful, among the head-and hand-workers, we find a minority of normal men—the moral geniuses or the apostles of emancipation—and a majority of men stunted in body, or intellect, or both, but with beautifully developed souls or moral character.

CHAPTER IV.

Means and Ways of Succeeding under Our Individualistic or Competitive Regime.

THE would-be successful man does not waste his love and admiration on dead or distant men from whom he can not expect anything in return. He does not waste his time and energy in pitying, helping, considering, serving his associates and fellowmen. He keeps his love, admiration, loyalty, serviceableness for his chief, immediate social superiors, political leaders, who are willing and in a position to give him material advantages in exchange. He keeps his pity for such social inferiors whose gratitude is not confined to mere inner sentiments or to private flattery, but manifests itself in advertizing him, in making him popular, in singing his praises aloud. If he happens to be a governmental employee, he does not waste his time in performing his duty, in serving the nation which is neither able nor enlightened enough to appreciate the merits of its servants; but he acts as if he were privately employed by the higher officials or bureaucrats, and hence serves their private interests, for he knows that they are very far from being public-spirited or really concerned with the welfare of the nation; he knows that the higher officials look upon their subordinates as their personal servants, and that not for nothing are they exempted from competitive civil service examinations, for it is easier for the predatory gangs that control the corporations and banking institutions to get their own docile tools or accomplices into office by appointment or by election, or by appointment under the cloak of mock examinations. If he happens to be a public servant, a guardian of law and order, a dispenser of justice, he knows or soon finds out that he is in reality a servant of the rich or master class, and that he must not waste his time and sympathy on the common herd. If he happens to be an alien or a naturalized citizen he knows or soon finds out that the natives expect him to swallow whatever insults, slights or blows they choose to deal out to him; to be humble, subservient, apologetic for his very existence; to refrain from criticizing, and only indulge in idealizing and praising his betters or the country of his adoption; nay, to outdo the native chauvinists in belittling or denying the virtues of foreign nations and in discovering new virtues, even in the most obvious vices, in his own nation.

Sophists, demagogues, quacks, pseudo-superior men, political leaders, sensational and non-original writers, journalists, mystical thinkers are more popular with, have a firmer hold and greater influence upon, the masses of philistines than true teachers, honest statesmen, straight-minded professional men, genuinely superior men, intellectual leaders, original and matter-of-fact or conscientious writers, clear thinkers, because they minister to the momentary pleasures, love of miracles and mysteries, spurious needs, irrational, foolish, unrealizable demands and hopes of the philistines; because they seemingly allay the ungrounded fears or the fears of the unavoidable; because they seemingly gratify the philistines' hopeless craving for social importance, for "helping to make history"; because they stoop to the childish, make-believe, self-deceptive level of the

masses, and do not urge the latter to rise to a higher level of self-perfecting; because they do not really differ much from the people, and therefore know better the weaknesses, credulity, suggestibility and fickleness of the latter; because they understand how to assume an air of importance; because they are experts in self-advertizing, in *Wichtig- und Geheim-Tuerei;* because they know how to keep the masses at a respectful distance or in ignorance as to their true nature and aims by enshrouding themselves in an atmosphere of mystery, secrecy, dazzling, prestige-conferring pomp, awe-inspiring ceremonies, mystifying formalities, suggestive taciturnity, inscrutableness; because they pretend to relieve the thoughtless masses of the burden of thinking, self-protection, forethought, adaptation to new circumstances, fear of insecurity and of the unknown; because they know how to gain control over or influence with the press, the pulpit, the schools, etc.; because they know how to silence, disarm or muzzle the honest and the genuinely superior men, by making them economically dependent or by gratifying their vanity and love of fame; because they know how to make allies, they know the advantages of association or organization, while the honest superior man stands alone with his moral integrity and purity of ideals; because they know how to constantly remind the philistines of their own superiority by treating them and talking to them condescendingly, patronizingly, with aloofness, contemptuous friendliness, etc., while the genuinely superior man is simple, self-effacing, unaffected, meek, harmless, kind to everybody; in short, because they are well armed with deceptive devices and offensive weapons.

The best fitted for success under the present regime are the disguisedly and diplomatically predatory individuals, who do not rely for advancement on their productive ability—if they have any—, nor on the gratitude or fair-mindedness of those whom they serve and on whom their advancement depends. They find the quickest method, the shortest route to success, in refined bullying or blackmailing disguised under the mask of flattery or loyalty. They see in every man an object of exploitation and also an actual or possible enemy; and, for this reason, they are very cautious, suspicious, distrustful, careful to hide their vulnerable spots (troubles, urgent needs, misdeeds, poverty, likes and dislikes, ignorance, fears, private opinions, etc.), while being steadily on the alert to find out the vulnerable spots of others, of their associates and superiors, in order to be able to extort from them all sorts of favors, concessions, privileges. It is this type of men who have invented the saying *populus vult decipi* in order to excuse their trickery. It is more correct to say *populus vult decipere.* People do not want to be fooled or deceived. They simply wish to fool or deceive others, to have advantages over others, to reap unearned or undeserved social distinction or privileges, to have others do impossible things for them. That's why only impostors, bluffers, flatterers, tricksters, schemers, politicians, diplomats, double-faced individuals, organizers of lodges or secret societies reap success in this world; for these individuals—unlike honest men—do not scruple to make impossible promises, to make others believe that they are greatly concerned about their welfare, that they think highly of them and accept them at their own valuation or even at a higher valuation, etc.

A parasitical, deceptive, cowardly and hypocritical method of reaping reward, credit, honor for what one does not possess, did not produce, do or say, is

to behave ambiguously, equivocally, self-importantly, mysteriously, evasively; —to talk in hints, parables, allegories, figures of speech, periphrases or circumlocutions, in a symbolic, nebulous, non-committal, jocular, fantastic, abstract, vague language, so as to be safe against critics and to compel readers or hearers to put their own ideas into it and to believe that they got it therefrom;—to preach and exhort so vaguely as not to arouse the wrath of the wicked rich, and to ask in reality for church contributions while making the poor believe that their cause and charity are being pleaded for;—to pretend that one gives the final or master's touch to what one merely brings into a salable or circulating shape and to what is in reality completely produced by others;—to pose as a connecting link, intermediator, middle-man between producers and consumers while in reality dividing them, doing one's utmost to keep them asunder and to prevent them from ever coming into contact, in order to be able to set at naught the law of supply and demand, to prey upon and gain control over both, compelling the former to sell at a low price and the latter to buy at an extortionate price;—to pose as a teacher, enlightener, educator of the people, while imparting to them no other knowledge than that which can no longer be suppressed and which the people have already acquired through themselves or from persecuted, disinterested, self-sacrificing, poor apostles of truth;—to pose as a philanthropist by supporting, with what is in reality the people's money, hospitals, asylums, libraries, colleges and other pseudo-altruistic institutions, which are of no real benefit, if not downright detrimental, to the people, and which are in reality means of pacifying a few mercenary intellectual parasites who otherwise would use their wits for opening the eyes of the people to the hidden predatory nature of the self-styled philanthropists, rulers and leaders;—to play the entertainer and beatifier of the people while in reality acting as an accomplice of the intra-social robbers who can go on undisturbed with their looting while the people's attention is diverted to empty, stupid amusements, parades, exciting newspaper concoctions;—to play the champions of international peace (in times of peace, of course) and the rescuers of the people from the horrors and bloodshedding of military wars in such countries as are no longer exposed to such antiquated calamities and whose peoples are rather decimated in shops, mills, mines, factories by the much more devastating wars of industry, commerce, finance, competition;—to play the civilizers and the soul-rescuers of backward peoples and races, while in reality subserving the insatiable lust for gold and power of sordid commercialism;—to pose as the defenders of the people's religion, literature, ethnic and linguistic purity, customs and ideals while in reality maintaining and exploiting their superstitions, stupid, artificial and undesirable peculiarities, chauvinistic illusions, harmful and progress-checking self-conceit;—to play the protectors and leaders of the productive or toiling class, of labor organizations, while in reality selling them out like cattle to all sorts of exploiters and grafters;—to make oneself paid and honored for purely ornamental, dispensable, self-created, non-productive, useless or even harmful work, as if it were highly useful, indispensable, productive, energy-saving, efficiency-promoting brain work;—to play the reformer, social worker, protector, leader, educator, servant, friend, legal or spiritual adviser of the people, while being in reality the hireling, the accomplice, spy, advertizing agent, docile tool of the predatory classes, or while exacting blackmail, bribes, and favors from the latter;—to play the heroic fighter against chattel slavery, open brutality and robbery, when this method begins to fall in disuse

and disrepute and becomes harmful to a large class of exploiters who have devised or struck upon the more profitable and less risky method of wage slavery, disguised brutality, invisible robbery;—to publicly advocate liberty, righteousness, virtue, democracy in order to win the confidence of the people, to throw them off their guard and to prevent them from prying into the secret, private alliance with the upholders of slavery, iniquity, vice, plutocracy;—to obtrude oneself as promoter, administrator, chief, overseer, responsible party in order to be able to rob others of the fruits of their labor and of the credit due to them;—to pose as guardians of the law, of order, peace, morals, while using the law and official authority as a weapon of private vengeance or of oppression and as a means of preying under cover upon the timid, peaceful citizens, upon the poor, friendless, strangers, aliens, ostracized classes, extra-social criminals, and being in reality the protectors of the rich or master class;—to pose as pioneers, settlers, promoters, and to lay claim to "developing" the country while being in reality speculators, land "boomers", adventurers, Vandals, slashers and smashers, flaying the land, tearing down with no thought of ever building up, breaking more ground than they can till, destroying the forests, wasting and exhausting the natural resources, looting the national wealth, blowing hills and valleys to pieces in their search for gold;—to pose as political reformers, as advocates of civil service reform, as champions of honesty or purity in politics, as progressives, liberals, revolutionists, as foes of reactionaries, conservatives, spoils politicians, political adventurers, carpetbaggers, etc., while being in reality morally inferior to the latter, that is, less frank, less altruistic, more servile and therefore more agreeable to the predatory or capitalistic class, and less friendly or even inimically disposed to the poor constituents or the common people, and aspiring merely to get into power;—to pose as a critic, as a connoisseur, as a literary and aesthetic guide to the public, while in reality doing one's utmost to keep down the as yet unknown geniuses, leaving it to the public to discover for themselves the authors and the artists whom they like, and then insolently stepping forward and recommending or interpreting to the reading public the authors of their own choice;—to pose as champions and upholders of the law, of justice, of fair play in the mutual relations of men, while in reality preying or trading upon, and therefore encouraging and intensifying, men's vindictiveness, quarrels, mutual fear, hatred and exploitation;—to pose as publishers, as promoters of literature, while in reality preying upon both authors and readers and discouraging original thinkers unless they are in a position to finance their own works or to call attention thereto, etc.

Medical quackery, with its panaceas and royal roads to the restoration of health, assumes two different forms according as it preys upon the capitalistic, parasitic, idle classes or upon the proletarian, working classes. Metaphysical healing cults and faith or auto-suggestion cures (Christian Science, the Emmanuel movement, so-called New Thought, etc.) address themselves to the weary, enervated, morbidly selfish, degenerate rich who have too much time for morbid introspection or self-centration, for paying unnecessary and harmful attention to their least indispositions, which are aggravated thereby, and to their dear conceited selves. The remedies are of a cheap spiritual nature: faith, prayer, suggestive meditation, indulgence in optimism, altruistic sports, self-stultification by means of some sort of modernized incantations, auto-suggestion, or, more correctly, self-deception, etc. The materialistic healing method, such as chiropraxis, osteopathy, patent medicine quackery, finds its victims among the overworked, care-worn

poor, who have no time for indulging in introspection and in continual preoccupation with their ills and woes, and who can not afford to pay attention to their ailments until they assume an acute, chronic, incurable character.

Parallel to this unlegalized, deliberate, individual charlatanism of medical quacks there runs the no less harmful legalized, semi-conscious and often unconscious collective charlatanism of the so-called respectable, regular physicians: These college-trained gentlemen behave self-importantly and domineeringly as if they were masters over life and death; on the whole, the medical profession—although not as harmful as the legal, military, political and ecclesiastical professions—does more harm than good to mankind by keeping alive the drug superstition, by poisoning the human body with serums, and particularly by arousing or intensifying the dread of disease, which kills ten times as many as does actual disease, and by interfering with the healing power of the organism (*vis medicatrix naturae*) presided over by the autonomic, vegetative or sympathetic nervous system, which can not perform its work efficiently when the higher or cerebral consciousness mingles in its business instead of attending to its own, viz, to its own integrity, to the external environment and to the objective study of the body; if, despite this undue interference with the work of the self-protective mechanisms of the body, the latter comes out victorious, then our self-important modernized medicine-men hasten to take the credit to themselves, just as the privileged class or superior officers of the army, who anxiously keep away from the firing line, from the dangers and hardships of the battle, hasten in case of victory and even of defeat to take the credit due to chance and to the obscure, inglorious common soldiers, the slaves and drudges of the military caste. Our respectable physicians are just as much responsible as the medical quacks for men's belief in and impatient craving for instantaneous relief from suffering by means of outside help, for men's lack of confidence in and conscious interference with the healing power of their organisms, for men's unwillingness and inability to submit to and to make the best of pain or illness as an unavoidable but temporary disturbance. Our respectable physicians render men entirely helpless by obliterating their instinct of self-protection. They trifle and tamper with the highly complicated human organism as if it were a simple piece of machinery that could with impunity be taken apart and then put together. They divert our attention from the more important fundamental need of natural, simple living, of living within one's physiological means, of social medicine or social reform, of economic security and normal working conditions. Their attempt to restore health or bodily strength by blood transfusion, by administering gland extracts, by transplantation of tissue and of glands, by injections of sugar, iron and such-like, is just as stupid or just as much a piece of quackery as would be the attempt on the part of a self-styled engineer to remedy the scarcity of water in a city, due to the drying up of the mountain springs, lake or river, whence the water used to be drawn, by pumping a few barrels of water into the pipe line, instead of looking for new, as yet untapped springs. Both the regular physicians and the medical humbugs (faith and auto-suggestion healers, now styling themselves "applied psychologists"), instead of diverting the patient's mind from his bodily ailments and thus give the vegetative or autonomic nervous system a chance to attend to the healing process, interfere therewith by turning the patients' attention to his bodily condition. They forget that the cerebral nervous system and the autonomic system represent in the individual organism what in the so-

cial organism we call the Ministry or Department of Foreign or External Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior in the broadest sense and that they, like their social analogues, can best perform their duties when not unduly encroaching upon each other's domain.

Ungrounded fear and vain hope are the two whips which are simultaneously or alternately used by the human beasts of prey to drive the honest toilers to submission, to drudgery, to giving up the fruits of their labor. By terrorizing, persecuting, imprisoning or bribing and corrupting those who could enlighten and organize the people; by sharing the spoils with the parasites who masquerade as rulers or protectors of the people; and by disseminating class hatred or class prejudices, these beasts of prey manage to maintain the masses in ignorance or mental darkness, and to keep them split into small, weak groups that fill out their spare time with fighting against each other, or with drinking and with stultifying amusements. By suggestion, trickery, by spreading false and deceitful information, by hindering the diffusion of real knowledge, and, if necessary, by using violence or brutal force, they maintain the people in a state of constant fear and hence of blind obedience. The physician, like his progenitor the medicine-man or sorcerer, thrives on men's fear of disease and of death, which he does his utmost to arouse, maintain and intensify, causing thus immense harm to those who look up to him for help. The lawyer thrives on mens' fear and distrust of each other, on men's fear of the possible misinterpretations and distortions of the Law, on men's fear of the corruptible guardians of law and order; it is in his interest, therefore, to see to it that these fears as well as the legal abuses should not die out. The clergy thrives on men's fear of hell, on their fear of a revengeful God, on their hope for divine assistance here on earth and for immortality in the next world. The industrial exploiters drive men to work, abstinence from criticism and from rebellion, by scaring them with the ghost of starvation, of an omnipresent army of spies, of the blacklist, etc. Other parasites compel their victims to allow themselves to be fleeced by arousing in them the fear of social ostracism, of falling into disrepute, of becoming the butt of ridicule, etc.

The pseudo-ruler, the pseudo-leader, claims to lead, rule, organize, guide, enlighten the masses when in reality he follows, misleads, misrules them, keeps them divided and in ignorance. He claims to interpret for the people the teachings and preachings of acknowledged geniuses, to connect producers and consumers, to reconcile the exploiters and the exploited, to direct and supervise the activities of the nation, when in reality he adulterates and obscures truth, hinders the exchange of services and the circulation of commodities until he has succeeded in levying a heavy toll thereon, extorts fees from both exploiters and exploited without ever dreaming of bringing their quarrel to an end. He noisily interferes with the work of honest people and makes himself paid for his uncalled-for meddling, shouting, commanding, gesticulating, hot-air rhetoric. If he hears of an irrepressible social movement, he throws himself into it and heralds himself as its leader like the chief of a certain Asiatic tribe who, every morning, when the sky is clear, climbs to the top of a hill together with his retinue and from there he self-importantly orders the sun to rise.

Just as the economically dishonest man (the thief, burglar, political intriguer, exploiter, conspirator, etc.) carries out his schemes most profitably and with the least danger in the dark, under cover of the night, so the intellectual charlatan carries on his trade with the least risk of being detected in the dark, misty

regions of human beliefs and superstitions, in the regions of mysticism, into which Science has not succeeded as yet in bringing its light, and which for this very reason are so alluring to the ordinary man, as he can project therein the realization of his wildest dreams. Thus if theological and medical mystical mountebanks harp so much upon the impassable barrier between living and non-living matter, between matter and mind, between cerebral processes and thought, between motion and idea, and vice-versa, as well as upon the influence of the mind upon the body (which is a deliberate misstatement, the truth being that the action between the mind or rather the brain and the body is mutual), although these as yet little understood facts are not unique and are neither more mysterious nor more interesting than the conversion of any form of energy into another or than the mutual action between atoms and than the mutual action between any bodily organ and the rest of the organism, it is because the former facts, in distinction from the latter, lend themselves to fraudulent exaggeration and can be construed into some semblance of proof in favor of immortality, the existence of a soul, and in favor of mental healing, upon which these humbugs trade. They do not stop to ponder that to explain the transition from motion to thought, the organization of non-living into living matter by the intervention of pre-existent immortal souls, spirits, life-force, super-consciousness, creative urges, dynamo-psychisms, divinities, etc., is to explain something mysterious by something still more mysterious and equally in need of explanation. For obvious reasons they refuse to admit that the simpler way would be to assume that mind and matter are one or rather the two sides of one and the same entity, that the difference between living and non-living matter is merely a difference of degree, complexity, organization, and not a difference of kind. In other words: just as a house—although it is not equivalent to, but is something different from and more useful than, the original pile of unorganized structural material (bricks, lumber, cement, pipes, wires, etc.) used for its construction—owes its novelty, peculiarity, individuality, usefulness, not to any super-added mysterious entity, but simply to the organization or purposeful arrangement of its component raw material; just so do living beings owe their peculiar or novel properties, capacities, energies, not to any super-added mysterious entity, but merely to the complex organization of their component elements and to the integration or focussing of the elementary properties and energies thereof. To make the conclusions drawn from the above analogy still more convincing, we ought to compare living beings to natural shelters (caves, hollow trees, bushes or thickets, overhanging rocks, etc.) rather than to artificial, planned, man-made shelters or houses.

CHAPTER V.

Happiness.

(a) Happiness, Self-realization and Self-perfection—Various Types of Happiness

THE feelings of pleasure and pain, of comfort and discomfort, of relaxation (relief) and tension (strain, pressure), of satisfaction and irritation, accompany primarily the consciousness of comparatively unimpeded and impeded (repressed) impulses, respectively; and secondarily, by derivation or transfer, they come to accompany mere ideas, concepts, anticipations, symbols of actual or of future free or repressed impulses, desires, instincts. Thus the repressed impulse of revenge causes a specific painful emotion called anger; whereas the unimedped impulses of attack or revenge, the unimpeded venting of the fighting impulse (overcoming resistance or obstacles) cause a specific pleasurable emotion, the joy of triumph. The repressed actions of rapacity cause envy; unimpeded rapacity causes the joys of material success. Fear results from impeded actions of self-defense; worry results from impeded self- and species-preservative activity; etc.

Even the so-called pleasures of rest, relaxation, sleep, and the pains of inactivity, *ennui*, uncongenial work, prove, on closer inspection, to be pleasures and pains of unhindered and hindered activity respectively. What we commonly call the activity or function of an organ, is its external activity, its activity in behalf of the whole organism, the expenditure of its stored-up energy. But what we call the rest of an organ, mental torpor, etc., is also activity; only, it is internal or intra-organic activity, the activity done in its own behalf, the function of storing up or of absorbing energy, the function of regenerating destroyed tissue, and the function of neutralizing or eliminating the accumulated acid by-products or fatigue poisons. An over-worked organ causes pain because its inner, self-preservative, recuperative activity meets with obstacles, internal resistances, accumulated fatigue poisons. Disease is a prolonged, compulsory, uncontrollable state of rest or recuperation. In sleep the body, and particularly the brain, frees itself from the accumulated fatigue poisons, so that the expression "drunk with sleep" is true not only metaphorically but also literally. If hustling or the enforced acceleration of one's natural rhythm is harmful and painful, it is because it requires an effort, the repression of other movements, impulses or activities, and the withdrawal of energy from other channels. Likewise, enforced inactivity and enforced slowing-down of one's natural rhythm are painful because of the required effort, counter-action, constant interference with the natural flow of energy, and repression of natural impulses.

Happiness results if the amount of unimpeded or gratified needs, desires, impulses predominates over those which are impeded or thwarted by internal or external, individual or social obstacles. Of two men equal in all other respects except in financial standing, the poor man will probably be unhappier than the rich one on account of the many impulses, wishes or desires which he must repress. The ungratifiable craving for luxury becomes a source of unhappiness in the poor. Altruism may become a source of unhappiness to him who is not in a position to put his altruistic impulses into action or into practise. Likewise,

selfishness which strives after external, material rather than after inner, more easily attainable spiritual values, is thereby a source of pain, irritation, discontentedness, unhappiness. The thinking, original individual is unhappy in the midst of a primitive, custom-bound community, where he is not allowed to manifest and freely gratify his natural impulses. The bestial, impulsive, irritable, revengeful individual who has not learned as yet from lawyers how to bend the Law to his criminal purposes, feels civilized life with its system of socialized justice as an unbearable burden. Slavery renders unhappy those whose aspirations are not confined to mere coarse food, shelter, and a thoughtless or vegetative life. The competitive, individualistic, *laisez-faire* system is a source of pleasure to the predatory individual who, unimpeded by remorse, moral scruples, intellectual or sympathetic considerations, finds therein a vast, fruitful field for living at the expense of the naive, ignorant, honest masses; but it is a source of pain to the altruist. He whose highest aim is self-perfection, knowledge and beauty for their own sake, has more chances of becoming happy than the ambitious, greedy and sensual, for he meets with fewer obstacles than the latter in our present-day society. Happiness does not consist of an exalted state of pleasure; it is rather a calm and serene general state of contentedness, comparatively enduring, with but transitory and slight interruptions. Happiness is a complex of calm, serene pleasurable feelings accompanying the consciousness that our wishes, aspirations, hopes are being, or are on the way of being, realized. In short, happiness is a psycho-physiological coenaesthesia; it is a simultaneous feeling of mental and bodily well being. Happiness can not be a complex of various intense pleasures, for an intense pleasure resulting from the functioning of one organ is not compatible with simultaneous pleasure resulting from the functioning of other organs.

EPICUREAN AND ASCETIC HAPPINESS

According to our notions of happiness, it would seem a contradiction in terms to speak of the happiness of asceticism, stoicism, quietism, Buddhism, renunciation, nirvana. And yet the reality of such a happiness can not be entirely denied. We modern men, living in a comparatively democratic age, can afford to preach Epicurean ideals of happiness and to condemn asceticism as futile, morbid, pernicious, as inaccessible to the majority of men and to the sane-minded; but we must not forget that we owe a tribute of gratitude and admiration to those ancient and medieval saints to whom asceticism, monachism, hermitism, was the only accessible ideal, the only weapon against and the only refuge from a crushing despotism. In extremely despotic, war-ridden countries and ages in which men lived in continual fear of being tortured, robbed, deprived of all that was dear to them, it was natural that ascetic or stoic ideals should arise among noble-minded, self-respecting, refined, altruistically vain individuals. For a man of this type gets tired of hoping in vain; he can not adapt himself to the fluctuations of doubt and of despotic caprices; he gets tired of struggling for possessions of which he can never be sure; he gets tired of continually fearing pain and deprivation. He chooses therefore to look for rest in self-inflicted and certain pain, solitude, social obscurity, poverty or deprivation rather than be tossed about between uncertain hopes and fears; between prospective favors, privileges, honors, celebrity and impending disgrace, dishonor, oblivion, ostracism, exile, confiscation of his property; between avoided and possible torture. He prefers inaction to hopeless activity. He prefers self-humiliation, self-chastisement, bodily self-

destruction to destruction, humiliation, pain inflicted by tyrants. He prefers to defy the despot, to show him the vanity of his temporal power by taking upon himself a life of suffering and abnegation. The only happiness of which despotism, legalized or illegal robbery, covert or overt oppression can not deprive him is the illusory happiness of soul-preservation, of a future spiritual life, of posthumous fame, of ecstasy, of self-provoked hallucinations, of auto-hypnosis, of an imaginary world.

Self-perfection or self-realization and happiness are one and the same thing, or rather the two sides of one and the same thing. The former is the cognitive-volitional, and the latter is the affective aspect of an harmonious or normal functioning of all of our organs, of an harmonious gratification of all or of the most fundamental and highest of our needs and aspirations, of a free or unimpeded and harmonious development or unfolding of mind and body. The psychological or internal conditions and pre-requisites of happiness are: Adaptation of our will and desires to our power and to real possibilities; and a free will, that is, the ability of deliberating or of harmonizing, equilibrating, converging our impulses, the ability and opportunity for acting harmoniously or in conformity with our entire experience and with all our aspirations. In the maladjusted, mentally unbalanced individual, in the born candidate for unhappiness, the will transcends his power; his desires are vague, indefinite, unrealizable, that is, not in conformity with real possibilities; he is a slave to caprices, despotic passions, irreconcilable and irresistible impulses, fixed ideas; his ambition transcends his ability and resources.

Just as the fact that many persons are not bodily healthy does not mean or prove that they do not aim at, and long for, bodily health; just so the fact that most superior men striving for self-perfection do not feel happy, does not prove that they do not aim at happiness, does not prove that happiness and self-perfection are two different ideals. In addition to this, one must not forget that the inner conditions of happiness are not sufficient, that there are also external, economic, social conditions, independent of the perfect individual. Complete human happiness demands inter-organic harmony or bodily health; inner or mental harmony between ideas (reason, truth), between affections (beauty, morality, equanimity), between impulses (free will), between actions (external freedom); outer harmony or correspondence, adaptation, between the world of our imagination, anticipation, beliefs, wishes and the world actually revealed through our senses.

HAPPINESS OF PHILISTINES AND GENIUSES

The happiness of the common mortal consists in living in conformity with instincts, habits, traditions, in following the beaten path, in imitating or keeping pace with the tone-setting class, rulers, leaders, etc. The happiness of the superior man results from opening up new fields for future generations. The philistine feels a desert in his soul when he breaks away from routine; the original man suffocates in the narrow horizon of philistine monotony, empty formalism and petty-mindedness. Not only most of his ideas, needs, sympathies and antipathies, but also most of his feelings of happiness, are aroused in the philistine from without, by hetero-suggestion. Thus we see masses shouting themselves

hoarse with joy and beaming with self-contentedness on prescribed religious, national and other holidays, even when they have personal reasons for feeling unhappy.

The genius, in order to be happy, needs more liberty, leisure, solitude, mobility, change than the stultified common mortal. Whatever tends to hinder his thinking, to check his spontaneity, to debar him from the channels of publicity, renders the genius unhappy. Such causes of unhappiness are uncongenial employment, economic insecurity and dependence, drudgery, routine work, monotony, compulsory sociability, conventionalism, despotism, etc. Whereas the philistine is irritated and made unhappy by whatever compels him to think (change, too much leisure and loneliness, new types of men, lack of leaders or of tone-setting individuals, skeptical attacks on established beliefs and institutions, etc.)

The superior man needs for his happiness a certain amount of isolation, free play, intellectual and moral freedom, leisure and mobility, in order to meet the continual expansion of his growing individuality and convictions, in order to meet the continual shifting of his point of view. Unlike the empty-minded, empty-hearted, degenerate, misanthropic financial aristocrat who is eager for physical or geographic isolation—not so much for sanitary purposes as for the purpose of indulging in mental and bodily laziness, in thoughtless pleasures, for the purpose of appearing different from the great mass, as well as because he hates, fears, distrusts his fellowmen and is desirous to hide his bestial nature—, the superior man or intellectual aristocrat is merely jealous of his psychical liberty. He keeps away from the pressure of externally, artificially imposed creeds, customs and doctrines; he is anxious to keep away from the brutalizing, stultifying drudgery imposed by exploiters upon the honest, disinherited toiling class; he feels unhappy when compelled by economic dependence to breathe in the character-destroying or morally asphyxiating atmosphere of insincerity, conventional lies, empty courtesy, refined mutual blackmailing, bullying, distrust, bluffing, or mutual flattery and mutual advertizing exhaled by the gangs of pseudo-superior men or packs of masked wolves who rule and lead the masses. A genius cooped-up in the narrow, humdrum, stifling atmosphere of a shop or office together with philistine associates who, being mainly concerned with their material welfare, lack his irrepressible longing for roaming and exploring the wide, open fields of intellectual freedom and spontaneity, is just as pitiful a sight as an eagle with his wings clipped, confined in a cage and compelled to peck up his food together with chickens and other barn-yard fowl in adjoining cages, which domestic birds, being mainly concerned with feeding, lack his irrepressible longing for soaring high above the narrow, impure nether regions. Likewise, to see inventors, artists, thinkers, who represent the various organs of the social brain, beg of capitalists (financial speculators, patrons, publishers, etc.) or of those in power for a chance to deliver their messages to the toiling and suffering masses, who represent the social body, is just as pitiable a spectacle as would be to see heads cut off from their bodies tearfully and mutely pleading with the executioner for their right to be reunited, before it is too late, with their bodies which helplessly writhe with agony.

The happiness of the egotist, as can be seen in our financial aristocrats and in women of all classes, consists of mere cruel and anti-social pleasures. It consists in craving and enjoying things not so much on account of their capacity of satisfying bodily or mental needs as because and so long as others are deprived thereof. It consists in make-believe, in the display of wealth, costumes, vehicles,

etc., of whatever arouses envy and discontentedness in others. Their philanthropy goes hand in hand with self-advertizing, humiliation and moral castration of the beneficiaries, and with accentuation of class distinctions.

The happiness of the rich consists in poisoning the souls of the poor by contempt, by the display of luxury, by spurring them on to pursue unattainable, vain, external, material, peace and character destroying aims of life (wealth, luxury, power, empty and artificial or arbitrary distinctions and titles of nobility, etc.). The philistine or imitative individual wants things not because he feels any real or strong need for them but merely because others have them. The superior man pursues only objects that can satisfy his inner needs. The self-seeker, the egoist, the vain financial aristocrat, pursues things merely because and so long as they are beyond the reach of others.

It is not true that the animal is necessarily (that is, for physiological reasons) happier than man, the savages than the civilized, the child than the grown-up, the philistine than the intellectual, woman than man. The difference between the former and the latter is not so much a difference in the psycho-physiological capacity for enjoying life as a difference in the complexity and nature of the material and moral possessions on which their happiness depends, and also a difference in the manifestation of happiness, a difference in economic capacity and opportunity. If the former are made happy by a single possession, by illusions, it also happens that a single unsatisfied want, a single unattained aim, a single disillusion, makes them feel despairingly unhappy; they are extreme in their unhappiness just as they are in their happiness. Whereas the latter are normally and usually moderate in both happiness and misfortune, for while many possessions are required to cause their complete happiness, it also takes many unsatisfied wants and many disillusions to drive them to despair. If the main source of happy feelings, and the main channel of manifesting them lies in boisterous, thoughtless motor activity for the former, for the latter it lies in quiet, inner, psychical, sensory, contemplative activity. The happiness and unhappiness of the former are more extreme, more intense, more whole-heartedly indulged in, more easily engendered, less disturbed by side-thoughts about past or possible antagonistic experiences, by worries about the future, but less enduring, less stable, less manifold, less refined than those of the latter.

Owing to the habit of judging others by ourselves and our own past by our present experiences, we project into our past, into the memories of our childhood, the consciousness of the freedom from economic dependence, responsibilities and uncertainties, which in reality has come to the foreground much later, after we have lost our economic security, which is the indispensable external condition of all happiness or joy of life. The child has one source of happiness, namely, the capacity for living with impunity on illusions and sweet dreams, the capacity for deriving pleasure from make-believe, which capacity would rather be a source of great misfortune to the adult who has to face harsh realities at his own risk and peril. The masses of philistines do not entirely outgrow this childish expedient of gratifying their craving for distinction or social superiority and of solving life's problems and overcoming its obstacles by taking refuge in make-believe or self-deception or in fairyland, paradise, wonderland, in the land of our pre-glacial ancestors embellished by our own imagination—where wishes are always fulfilled, troubles fade, youth abides, everything comes out all right without any exertion or planning on our part—, and are therefore an easy prey in the

hands of politicians, demagogues, evangelists, fake psychologists, organizers of secret or would-be aristocratic societies, and other parasites who understand how to feed them on empty promises, hopes, beliefs, pride, appearances, mystifying rituals, distinction conferring hocus-pocus and paraphernalia, and similar cheap substitutes for or imitations of unattainable real distinction or superiority.

(b) HAPPINESS AND LIBERTY

Freedom and slavery are in the social world what movement and rest, or, rather, unimpeded and impeded movement are in the physical world. If a man is not allowed to act according to his will or nature, he is a slave. If the will does not grow or go over into action of some sort, it either dies away or overflows causing irreparable devastations in the human soul. If a thinker or a poet is not allowed to express his thoughts he feels miserable and like a caged bird; for thinking and expression are inseparably bound up together, like the roots and the trunk of a plant. Thoughts that are not allowed to emerge from the dark subsoil of unconsciousness into the daylight of action and of publicity, opinions and wishes that are not allowed to express themselves directly and unconventionally, either degenerate, fade away, or become perverted, i. e., they express themselves in hypocritical, veiled, covert, roundabout, incognito, witty, jocular, symbolical, socially useless or even dangerous ways. Of course, social life and absolute, anarchical, unlimited liberty can not go together; he who wants the benefits of association must allow others to enjoy the same benefits; for otherwise why should they associate and cooperate with him?

A body at rest does not resist, oppose, or react against, being surrounded with an enclosure; but a moving body does react, and the intensity of its reaction is proportional to its velocity or acquired momentum. Just so a philistine, i. e., an individual deprived of thoughts, aspirations, initiative, and of such preoccupations as are unwelcome to his masters or as would divert his attention from his work, does not resent the restrictions, rules, commands, enclosures, imposed opinions, intellectual slavery which irritate and render unhappy the thinking, lofty-minded, truth-loving individual. A one-sided intellectual man resents less than the many-sided intellectual man the restrictions and the unnatural conditions of life which are imposed upon men by parasitic superiors, despots, exploiters; for the former, who moves in but one direction farther than the mass, has only one kind of obstacles to overcome, whereas the latter, who moves successively in various directions, finds that he is hedged in on all sides, with restrictions of a thousand sorts. The hypocrite, the deceitful individual, the politician, feels perfectly free and satisfied in our anarchical, parasitical, competitive society, where nobody is allowed to question the source of his wealth and influence, the motives of his actions, the genuineness of his intentions; where nobody is allowed to arouse suspicion against his secret, underhand, infernal machinations, as long as he is shrewd enough to have no legal evidence against him. Whereas the sincere and honest man feels like a slave and gets choked in this atmosphere of bluff, intrigues, parasitism, disguised or underground warfare, where he must make a great effort in order to postpone, conceal, suppress or disguise the outward expression of his inner life. If so much intellectual enjoyment is derived from wit, humor, satire, comedy, and from Literature in general, it is because they furnish a safety valve against legal restraints, social pressure, philistine intolerance and conventionality, bureaucratic and plutocratic tyranny; they furnish

an indirect way for men to vindicate their rights and freedom; they furnish roundabout, covert, safe channels through which men can discharge, release, vent, express their suppressed, hidden, inhibited, dammed-up personal enmities, antisocial impulses, thoughts on tabooed subjects, sexual desires, political opinions, radical aspirations, discontent with the powers that be, revolt against tyrannic conventions, individuality-stifling institutions, etc.

(c) HAPPINESS NOT A PHANTOM.—EXTERNAL OBSTACLES TO HAPPINESS

Everybody pursues happiness; but many mistake the part, the means, the appearance for the whole, the end, reality. Usually the gratification of some bodily needs can take place only at the expense or to the exclusion of other bodily and mental needs. Hence perfect or absolute happiness is an impossibility. Relatively happy is he who can gratify his most fundamental and his highest needs and aspirations at the same time, with a minimum sacrifice of intermediate needs and aspirations, and with a maximum compensation for what he has to suppress.

Human happiness is still in many respects at variance with the natural course of things. And in some respects there will always remain a residual irreconcilable conflict between human aspiration and reality, between wish and fulfillment, even when all the socio-economic obstacles to happiness will be cleared out of the way. For men wish for constancy, continuity, durability, persistence, essence, individual immortality (bodily resurrection, reincarnation, etc.), cyclic course, etc., where nature offers inconstancy, caducity, rhythm, periodicity, form, individual mortality (and greater longevity for the species only), an a-cyclic, spiral, endlessly varied course, etc. But the vicissitudes of human life grieve only little souls; the superior man is freed from vanity's yoke by the contemplation of the frequent changes in human destinies: The spectacle of the vicissitudes in human fortunes, of the instability, frailty and ephemeralness of human happiness and achievement, of the discrepancy between human ambition and its realization—though saddening and depressing at first—proves to be the thinker's best cure for all self-conceit, petty and foolish ambitions, vain illusions, morbid craving for notoriety and glory, enslavement to the opinions of the fickle and blind philistine masses.

If the civilized man is unhappy, discontented, restless, it is because new vistas and new wants have been disclosed to him, and dormant or repressed desires have been reawakened in him by the light of education and of the growing democratic spirit, but the means, leisure and liberty for gratifying the same have been stolen from him by the wielders of financial or political power; and because he can no longer find consolation for his deprivations in religion, in illusory hopes, in the belief in an immutable fate or in an hereafter, or in stultifying hypnotic suggestions coming from his temporal and spiritual leaders.

If the civilized man is less happy than the uncivilized, the emancipated Negro less than many an old Negro slave, the educated proletarian less than the uneducated, the modern Jew less than the Jew of the Ghetto, it is because the former have been welcomed by the exploiters only to the increased responsibilities, tasks and duties of civilization, freedom and education, but not to the new enjoyments, privileges and pursuits of broader outlooks; it is because the former,

after having become estranged and irrevocably cut off from their older element, are looked upon and treated as intruders or uninvited guests by the new element, to which they have been allured by false promises and vain hopes.

If civilized men are on the whole less happy than the uncivilized, it does not follow that civilization (i. e., increased knowledge about and mastery over nature) is incompatible with human happiness. The wrong lies, not with civilization, but with our social organization, which allows a minority of idlers to monopolize the benefits of invention. Civilization opens up new perspectives, new hopes for men; and if these hopes remain unrealized, unattainable for the many, it does not follow that we have to go back to the narrow horizon of uncivilized, primitive, country life, it does not follow that we have to give up our new aspirations and our new wants by giving up intellectual and technical progress. No, not at all! We have rather to go a step further, and strive for moral progress also, i. e., for the socialization of all the benefits of civilized life, instead of cursing them, instead of leaving them in the hands of a few. To take a single example: if labor-saving machines displace many workers and drive them into the ranks of the unemployed, it does not follow that the machines and their inventors are to be blamed for it, and hence are to be destroyed; for the harm comes from somewhere else, it comes from the owners of the machines. Men who rebel against time-and labor-saving machines act just as stupidly, just as shortsightedly as the animal which bites the innocent stick with which a man hits it, instead of getting after the wicked man who makes such a bad use of the stick. Once more, it is not civilization, it is not the immutable laws of progress, but it is our selfish, irrational social organization which is responsible for the general unhappiness. How should general happiness thrive in a society like ours in which unscrupulous, cruel cut-throat competition and parasitical speculation reign almighty; in which honest work, honest striving goes together with slavery, starvation, social obscurity, and ends in pauperism, insanity, premature death; in which general ignorance, venomous commercial standards of life, and adulterated education make people worship blindly material success, and identify it with true merit; in which only he can hope for economic security and for material success who does not pursue any other aim, i. e., who has no need of, or is willing to renounce, pure love, beauty, truth, soul-independence?

Every desire, need, or want, can be either a source of pleasure or a source of pain according as one has the means, opportunity, capacity and freedom of gratifying it or not. The normal, adaptable, intelligent individuals do not contract, or rather do not allow themselves to be obsessed by, such desires as are beyond their means (desire for fashionable clothing, for fashionable dwellings, for display of wealth-symbols, for unrealizable things, honors). If so many men are seen to be tortured by desires which are not within their reach, it is not because they are abnormal. It is because our parasitical commercial institutions, our mercenary press, school and church conspire to spread the false doctrines that all luxuries are within everybody's reach, that opportunities for getting rich, prominent and for advancing to a higher social class are open to everybody, and that it only requires personal ability to avail one's self of them. Likewise, if among our employees the philistines, the selfish, the hypocrites, the bluffers, and the pseudo-intellectual men are more welcomed, more successful and happier than the genuine intellectual, unselfish, sincere individuals, this does not mean that the former are more adaptable than the latter; it does not mean that the

former have dropped their intellectual needs and nobler sentiments because the modern circumstances of employees do not allow them the leisure and liberty for satisfying such needs and for indulging in such sentiments. It merely means that they never had such needs, even during their childhod when they had plenty of leisure, liberty, education and independence. And if the intellectual and altruistic individuals are less successful, less happy as employees, it is not because they are unadaptable. They merely are unadapted, they sacrifice voluntarily—although reluctantly—material success to their higher pursuits. If the freedom of the modern competitive system is unwelcome to and little desired by these nobler souls, it is not because they lack adaptability, courage, self-reliance or the spirit of initiative. It is because this kind of freedom is merely the freedom of making a selfish and immoral use of one's intelligence, i. e., the freedom of craftily exploiting, cheating, deceiving, imposing upon, terrorizing, enslaving the masses.

The risks, fluctuations, uncertainties and vicissitudes of life under the present competitive system may be a source of amusement, joy, happiness for him who owns more than he risks; for him who has no intellectual or altruistic pursuits to spend his energy upon; for him who has no scruples in taking advantage of the liberty of preying, cheating, gambling; for him who risks other people's money. But they are certainly a health-undermining drain upon his energy, a source of pains and unhappiness for him who risks his all; for him to whom failure means starvation and irreparable ruin; for him whose energy flows mainly into intellectual and moral channels and who does not therefore take any special delight in financial excitements or wealth accumulation; for him who is born to enjoy brotherhood, solidarity, cooperation, production, fair exchange of services.

So long as there is no other way of earning a livelihood than either by working for others or by compelling others to work for us, there is no room for moral progress, there is no hope for general happiness. No matter how good a master is, those who work for him must abdicate their own personalities; they must become stultified, demoralized, bodily or intellectual prostitutes, and, finally, nonentities or mere tools; and masters, in their turn, become—if they are not already—impulsive, egotistic, lazy, sensual, insatiable, mentally inert, intolerant, exacting. Commerce, middle-men professions, capitalistic enterprises, speculative or usurer's professions, stock buying, investment of capital, etc., are fundamentally parasitical and dishonest, i. e., they are dishonest in both their means and aim. Hence, all attempts at keeping in check their dishonesty, at preventing bribery and the growth of trusts or of other predatory associations, all attempts at establishing government control, a good government, and fair competition, will prove futile. For if we allow a little dishonesty, there is no way of stopping it in its growth; if we tolerate dishonest aims, there is no way of stopping dishonest means; if we allow idleness and exploitation, we must allow usurpation, violence, bribery, political corruption, inquisitorial intolerance; if we do not nip predacity in the bud, there is no way of stopping its growth.

Only when every man will be obliged to work, and all work will be regarded as services rendered to the entire community, nation, human species; only when every man will co-operate or work with his fellow-men, and the supervisory officials, instead of forming a separate class and instead of usurping all initiative and expecting blind obedience, will remain workmen, will use per-

suasion and will take no new measures without the consent and cooperation of the supervised; only when rules and laws will have their only sanction in logic and in general usefulness; only when arbitrariness and personal whim will be eliminated from human relations—only then, I say, can we hope to see the Sun of Happiness shine upon all men alike.

In the present state of the struggle for existence we ought not to be surprised that even honest and kind-hearted men do not wish their children to earn a living by working; for all work—no matter whether for openly and unconsciously parasitical institutions (commerce, industry, etc.) or for disguisedly and consciously parasitical institutions (governmental, charitable, public institutions)—is always for particular individuals, and is therefore of a servile, degrading, demoralizing, dependent nature and of uncertain tenure. But it is the duty of such parents as are in a position to bequeath capital to their children to impress at least upon the latter the injustice of using inherited capital as a means of living in idleness and as a weapon for enslaving the poor; it is the duty of such parents to inculcate in their children the obligations towards employees which consist in an increasing mitigation of the latter's condition and in working towards the socialization of all the means of production.

General happiness or progressiveness will not be brought about by reverting to the land, to handicraft, competition, individual production, by destroying the machinery or the tools of civilization and by busting "the trusts; nor will it be brought about by tearing ourselves away from the little enjoyment left to us under the capitalist regime, leaving the boons of civilization in the hands of capitalists, and transplanting ourselves—like the communistic or cooperative colonies—to a more or less secluded spot of land in the hope of establishing there the nucleus of a better human society. The only solution is the socialistic fight for the collective control of the collectively hard-won but privately owned means of production and distribution—a fight carried on, not by the use of violence, murder, destruction, as were the revolutions in the past, but by the use of peaceful, constructive methods, such as industrial unionism, the general strike or bloodless revolution, the rational use of the ballot, the initiative and referendum, the recall of unfaithful representatives, educational campaigns, publicity, fearless exposure of iniquities, etc. General happiness and general freedom will be brought about, not by leaving behind our wicked, parasite-ridden society, and trying to establish somewhere else a better, brand new society, but by improving, disinfecting the one in the midst of which we are living; not by giving up all private property, but by establishing collective ownership at its side so as to be able to find out their comparative usefulness and their proper spheres of action; not by throwing overboard all the perverted social institutions, but by freeing them from parasitism, red tape, favoritism, nepotism, and infusing into them new life, the spirit of progressiveness, tolerance, hospitality; not by impatiently running away from the known obstacles thrown by capitalism into our path toward general happiness, and with thoughtless enthusiasm running against the greater unknown hardships or stumbling blocks of an artificial, primitive life, but by patiently trying to surmount or clear away the capitalistic traps and pitfalls. If the communistic or co-operative colonies established by Whites failed or remained behind the goal aimed at, while communism among colored races worked and is still working where it is not interfered with by white missionaries, traders and other adventurers, it is because they did not evolve naturally but were rather

artificial products and because they sought refuge from one extreme in the opposite extreme: from the artificial inequality and deceptively labyrinthine complexity of our predatory regime in an artificial equality and unnatural simplicity; from the artificial, enforced specialization or one-sidedness of commercialism in an artificial, compulsory, primitive state of all-aroundness, of a jack-of-all-trades; from capitalistic clannishness, coteries, class antagonisms in self-denial or voluntary suppression of individual peculiarities, tastes, inclinations; from capitalism's murderous and underhand intolerance of whomever and whatever stands in the path of its predatory or profit-seeking schemes in an easy-going, extreme toleration of everything, that is, a tolerance that shrinks even from verbally criticizing or disapproving the anti-social, degrading, demoralizing tendencies and aberrations shown by the victims of our predatory system; etc.

(d) INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES

Constitutionally, superior men are better fitted for enduring, unalloyed happiness than philistines, men than women, the poor than the rich, adults than children, civilized men than savages, human beings than animals. For while the former enjoy, more or less, inner or mental harmony, serenity, reflectiveness, freedom from superstitious or groundless fears, absorption in many-sided, mind-steadying interests, in wholesome, uplifting, socially useful, shareable intellectual pursuits, active adaptability or ability to change the environment; the latter are afflicted with mental disharmony or conflicting impulses, restlessness, impulsiveness, subjection to illusions, suggestions, superstitions, groundless fears, absorption in mind-unsettling one-sided interests, in unwholesome, degrading, anti-social, unshareable material pursuits, inadaptability or dependence on the capricious immediate, narrow social and physical environment.

In order to attain an end, it is not necessary, nay, it is detrimental, to be continually conscious thereof. The consciousness of the end or aim must last only long enough to enable us to choose, in its light, the most expedient means. And this consciousness of the goal pursued must be revived from time to time to enable us to see whether we travel and work toward it. To be all the while conscious of the end desired prevents us from paying attention to the means, from working towards it, or causes us to stumble. Those who hunt continually for happiness show thereby that they are not built for it; for while yearning continually for the goal they neglect to seek the appropriate means of attaining it; if they give all their time and energy to desiring, hoping, planning, nothing is left for action; by directing their eyes towards the good lying in the distance they fail to see the good lying by the roadside. Hence, it is not quite correct to say that happiness flees from those who run after it. The truth is, that those who run after the phantom of happiness do not reach real happiness; happiness eludes those who merely gaze longingly at it instead of walking towards it, instead of engaging in activities of which happiness is either a direct effect or an unaimed-at byproduct.

The egoistical, hard-hearted individuals are always prone to attribute to internal or physiological obstacles (nervous exhaustion, degeneracy, loss of mental equilibrium, inner disharmony) the discontentedness of the exploited and of superior men, which is in reality due to external obstacles. Just as the drop of the potential of an electric circuit is caused mainly by the external resistances inserted therein, just so is the superior men's lowered mental potential, state

of mental depression, sadness, slightly melancholic mood, caused mainly by external obstacles. His natural hopefulness is more exposed than that of the plain man to dropping intermittently to discouragement, hopelessness, sadness, because he can not help realizing how limited men's powers and real outlooks are in comparison with their desires, how remote and difficult of attainment his most modest unselfish aims are, how many insurmountable obstacles his path is strewn with, how indifferent and even hostile the masses are to his lofty pursuits, how lonely and misunderstood he is doomed to remain in the midst of the multitude bent upon the exclusive pursuit of immediate, material, perishable goods.

If the poor, as a rule and on the whole, are happier than the rich, it is not because "poverty is a blessing in disguise" (a saying invented by the rich in order to discourage the poor from discontent, envy, rebellion and confiscation of their wealth). It is not because of, but in spite of, their poverty and the insurmountable external obstacles to happiness that go therewith. It is because they are constitutionally fitted for a happy, many-sided, harmonious life, which prevents and saves them from devoting all their energies to the single low pursuit of wealth. Poverty *per se* is a source of unhappiness, for it carries with it thwarted desires and ambitions, irritating privations, humiliations, self-denials, respressions, economic dependence and insecurity. Poverty may be a blessing as a state to pass through, as a mere means to the appreciation of real values and genuine merit, as an eye-opener and sharpener of wits, as an incentive to the pursuit of economic independence, etc.; but poverty in itself, as a station to be persevered in, is certainly a curse. Poverty may be a blessing for the degenerate rich, for it enables them to survive by commanding the services of the poor without having to render any services in return; but it is certainly not a blessing for the normal, many-sided poor whose energies it diverts from higher pursuits to the sordid, prosaic struggle for mere survival. If the rich, who in self-defense invented the ambiguous saying "poverty is a blessing in disguise", would really believe that poverty is a blessing in itself and for the poor, they would not cling so tenaciously to their wealth, they would not be so prone to despair and commit suicide when they lose it, they would rather be eager to change places with the poor and would rejoice over the loss of their fortune.

(e) HAPPINESS AND OBJECTIVITY.

Every object, every experience, arouses in our mind not only an idea *sui generis*, but also a characteristic affective tone or an emotional fringe. Or, more correctly, every idea and its emotional fringe consists of two elements: a subjective element which is characteristic of the individual mind, of its constant ways of reacting, of its impulses, wishes, aims, and an objective element characteristic of the object, of the external cause, of its ways of acting. It is absurd to maintain that all pleasures, and all pains are alike; that they differ only in intensity and in the objects, or images to which they are attached. If this were so, and if pleasure were always an intentional and never a fortuitous aim, men would not be inconsolable in the case of loss of beloved objects and persons. They would simply look for substitutes, for other persons or objects of affection. They would not persist in striving after objects that they can not attain, or whose attainment leads through a thorny, dangerous path; when there are so many other attainable objects yielding qualitatively, if not quantitatively, the same pleasure. If the aim of our activity is rather the subjective than the objective element, then

the objects or the external causes of our mental processes find easily substitutes in case of loss. Thus, he who loves friends, company, children for his own sake, i. e., as a means to his selfish, or vain ends, finds easily consolation in case of loss, as long as he can replace the lost objects or persons by others. If the aim of our activity is to get rather the objective than the subjective element, the objects and persons become irreplaceable, indispensable, non-substitutable, part and parcel of our soul. Thus, a mother who loves her children for their own sake, and not only out of vanity, proprietary interest, or imitation, can never find in the surviving children compensation or consolation for the lost ones. The morally superior man—who, unlike the moral philistine, can not accept mere recollections, that is, subjective experiences, as a substitute for actual or objective experiences—is loath to look for consolation over the loss of a beloved soul in talking, as the philistine likes to do, about the dead friend, wife, sister, child or parent with others who can not fully share, feel or understand his sorrow.

We can not strive after pleasure regardless of the objects yielding it; only objects can be directly striven for, and pleasure and pain are merely fortuitous concomitants of our successful or unsuccessful pursuits. To strive after pleasure, to strive "after fun" or excitement regardless of the objects which are the sources of these affections, is certainly morbid, at least abnormal, because it is absurd, unattainable; it means to strive after phantoms, after object-less shadows. He who hunts for subjective pleasures, i. e., for pleasure *in abstracto*, is certainly unfit for happiness. For the subjective pleasure can never be held fast without holding fast the object causing it; and, on the other hand, the intensity of the pleasurable emotion decreases when we cling to the same object, without any interest in the object itself, i. e., without any ability of fixing our attention successively upon new aspects of one and the same object. To revive, therefore, the intensity of our subjective reaction, we must change continually the external object or stimulus. Thus, the Don Juan who sees in woman only a stimulus for his sensuality, for his subjective pleasure, is not fit for monogamy which does not allow a continual and capricious change of wives nor a capricious, unrestrained indulgence of the sexual appetite, and which requires that the wife should be a many-sided, complete life-companion sharing all the joys and all the sorrows with her husband. Nor is the platonic individual fit for conjugal life; for he or she can love only a phantom, an unreal product of his or her own illusions, which are soon dispelled by the realities of married life. Likewise, the vain, self-conceited individual is not fit for the company of independent, democratically-minded, critical, truth-telling individuals. Nor can he be continually happy with the same flatterers or hangers-on; for they cease to tickle his self-love, nor can a hundred of their flatteries compensate him for a single uncomplimentary little truth about his personality coming from other quarters.

Only the objective element of both ideas and emotions increases in clearness and intensity, in depth and in width, with repeated experience, with the holding fast of one and the same object. The altruist, therefore, in the broadest sense, i. e., he who delights in ideas and sentiments for the sake of the objective element, has more chances of becoming and of remaining happy than the egoist living under the same altruistic conditions.

In short, the subjective-minded (self-centered, autistic, introverted, self-seeking) individual—lacking the capacity for taking disinterested (ethical and aesthetical) pleasure in men and things, and hence the capacity for extracting

much joy from few things—grows, therefore, greedy and vain, bent upon quantity rather than quality, upon social rather than domestic life, upon external and far-off values rather than internal and near-by goods, upon notoriety, popularity, material possessions, social rank, shallow and loose polygamous connections rather than appreciation by the select few, friendship, spiritual possessions, self-perfection, deep and pure affections of monogamy. He tries in vain to extract from many things what he is unable to extract from single specimens. Being unable to extract joy from the things he possesses, he strives after things he does not possess or after things that are hard or impossible to get. Physiologically speaking, this restless striving of the subjective-minded or ego-maniacal individual after new, unattainable things, useless wealth, notoriety, power, society life, etc., is nothing but a struggle to work off, dilute, escape the irritations of, his constantly secreted autogenous poisons and to counteract the mental and bodily torpor into which he is plunged when left with his own thoughts.

Morbid, abnormal, hypertrophied or excessive objectivity, extroversion, extrospection, absorption in external pursuits is not such a hindrance to happiness as is morbid, abnormal, hypertrophied or excessive subjectivity, introversion, intro-spection, self-consciousness, self-centration. For the former is a source of joy and becomes injurious only in so far as it diverts the individual's attention from his bodily needs and material interests; whereas the latter is a source of pain, disease, bodily and material disaster, as it interferes with the ordinarily regular, automatic functions of the organism as well as with the patient's bread-winning activities.

The capacity for happiness is greater in human beings than in animals, in men than in women, in the poor than in the rich, in superior men than in philistines, although the greater external obstacles, physical and social, met with by the former may obscure its existence; for, as we have seen, genuine, pure, enduring, stimulating, ennobling happiness can be extracted only by taking a disinterested, impersonal, objective delight in Nature and permanent values; by striving after experience or knowledge rather than after material possessions; by enjoying things without owning them or depriving others of them; by forgetting oneself and going out in order to see rather than in order to be seen; by enjoying things for their own sakes and not because of their prestige-conferring, envy-arousing property; by seeking sharable rather than unsharable enjoyment.

If, in spite of the greater capacity for happiness of the poor as compared with the rich, of men as compared with women, of modest, peaceful, honest workers as compared with politicians, ambitious or power-craving individuals, the former have a shorter life-span than the latter, it is not because the latter are more dynamic or endowed with greater vitality (i. e., congenital resistivity to injury, fatigue or disease and congenital or potential longevity), but because, owing to their cruelty, vindictiveness, stubbornness, and privileged position, they are feared by their fellowmen and, therefore, allowed to have their own way, so that they are exempt from the former's life-shortening repressions, suppressions, anxieties, burdens, uncertainties, disappointments, hopeless and monotonous struggles. Nay, they live longer just because they have a lower vitality, which makes them shun the former's life of toil, hardship, danger, poverty, and to seek positions of power or privilege. Greater vitality, though implying potential longevity, does not necessarily go together with actual longevity. Nay, it often causes premature death: If more boys than girls die during childhood, it is precisely because

the greater vitality of the boys impels them to dangerous, adventurous, overtaxing activities.

(f) HAPPINESS AND NERVOUS TEMPERAMENT.

Happiness is incompatible with a nervous, irritable, excitable or restless temperament. Viewed psychologically, nervousness means disproportion or lack of balance between will or desire and power, between ambition and ability, between ends and means, between displayed activity and results obtained, between hope and reality, between intensity and clearness or definiteness of desire, between stimulus and response, between muscular and sensory activity. In the exalted or high pressure type of nervosity, in morbid activity, there is a maximum of will, expectation, response; but a minimum of power, means, results, stimuli. The reverse holds for the depressed or low pressure or abulic, apathic type of nervosity. Both extremes meet in their equal inefficiency. In the exalted type, the will discharges into the muscles more energy than can be usefully disposed of; it sets free more energy than can be used in one direction; the sense of proportion or the mental equilibrium is disturbed. The nervous, emotional, restless, noisy, impulsive, excitable individual seems more active, more energetic and happier than the balanced, sedate, quiet, sober, self-possessed, thinking individual, because he fritters his energy away in all and any directions, aimlessly, unreflectingly, capriciously, whereas the latter's activity is canalized, applied usefully to definite aims and only after due deliberation and under the constant guidance of reason. —It is natural, normal, a mere symptom of functional (superficial, temporary, transitory) mental disturbance, to act nervously when we do a thing for the first time; for we do not know yet how much thought, attention, and activity to give in order to secure efficiency without exhausting our stored-up energy beyond the point of recuperation; for we do not know yet which movements are irrelevant, useless, interfering, hence to be repressed. But it is not normal, it is not conducive to happiness, to act excitedly, to dissipate energy, in usual, routine, everyday acts: It is rather a sign of chronic, permanent, constitutional, structural nervousness. It is normal for the inexperienced to expect from life and from fellow-men more than they can or are willing to give. But it is misfortune-bearing nervousness to persevere in the same expectations and hopes after having been bitterly and repeatedly disappointed. It is normal for a heart full of love to yearn for friendship, for a disinterested life-companion. But it is nervous disequilibrium to obtrude one's love upon incorrigible egoists, upon people who have no need or demand for it. It is perfectly normal to become nervous, restless, to spend our energy, in inco-ordinate movements, when we have a great quantity of stored-up energy but no opportunity to spend it, no object to expend it on. Thus the genius, who is full of life, spontaneity, the spirit of intellectual adventure, can not feel happy in the midst of convention-bound routine men, small town inhabitants, villagers, unprogressive, mentally inert, custom-bound, parochial, provincial individuals, and the other brands of philistines, who act and speak as required by conventions, in response to external pressure, without inner feeling or conviction, like automata wound up by their owners. Likewise, the normal child feels naturally discontented when he has no playmates with whom, and no playthings upon which, to spend his surplus energy. It is normal to become nervous when we are compelled to scatter our energy on account of insurmountable obstacles which we could not have forseen;

but it is nervous exaltation, megalomania, or voluntary reaction against imminent nervous torpor, to tackle insolvable problems, to fight stubbornly against the unavoidable. It is normal, nay, it is a sign of great vitality, to fight indignantly when vital interests are at stake; but it is sheer nervousness or mental weakness to get irritated over trifles and to magnify unessentials or petty affairs. It is perfectly normal to crave and enjoy a little excitement from time to time, but to hunt eagerly and steadily for excitement (gambling, intoxication, debauchery, fads, novelties, crazes, ball games, notoriety seeking, the dancing craze, speeding mania, jazzy music, etc.) is surely a symptom of chronic nervous exhaustion, neurasthenia, hysteria, struggle against nervous and mental torpor, and at best a sign of empty-mindedness, discontentedness, thwarted ambition, aimless life. It is healthy, progress-promoting, a sign of vitality to be optimistic or enthusiastic about, and to idealize, the Future, which it is in our power to mould; but it is a sign of nervous exhaustion, despair intellectual and moral stagnation to indulge in retro-active aspiration, in idealization of the no longer changeable Present and Past, living and dead generations. It is normal and beneficial to be enthusiastic about men, things and events of great consequence; but to be equally enthusiastic or excited about consequential and inconsequential things is a sign of sheer nervousness, restlessness, subjectivity. It is normal and a sign of intellectual strength and mental progressiveness to modify and enlarge one's views with advancing years; but to go over to entirely opposite views, or to waver between mutually exclusive views, is a sign of pure emotionalism, suggestibility, intellectual weakness, instability or disharmony.

Physiologically speaking, nervousness is due to functional or structural defectiveness of the will mechanism, either on its innervating or energizing or on its inhibitory side or on both, that is, of the associational brain tracts or the mechanism connecting the sensory and the motor areas and presiding over the conversion of sensory into motor energy. The exalted type of nervousness is characterized by insufficiency of the inhibitory centres and super-normal pressure of the nerve force, or by nervous lesion and bad insulation of the nervous tracts (hence leakage of nervous fluid), or by an abnormal inner stimulation or irritation of the energizing or innervating mechanism. The less frequent type of depressive or low-pressure nervousness is characterized by insufficiency, inertness, paralysis, exhaustion of the innervating or energizing centres. The former type is usually mistaken for strength of will, for over-abundance of vital energy; the latter is mistaken for low vitality, a lack of vital energy. The former either over-shoots the mark or exhausts the entire energy in details, in preliminary steps, before the real battle begins. The latter arrives too late, misses the right moment. The former wastes its entire energy in blind, planless, aimless activity; and the latter wastes its entire energy in mere longing, day-dreaming, planning. Both types, as we see, are destined to a life of failure and of unhappiness, even in the midst of abundance and opportunities.

The increasing nervousness and degeneration of our age, especially in the United States, is due not so much to the physical atmosphere (impure air, unsanitary housing, congestion, etc.) as to the moral atmosphere of cities; it is due not so much to overwork and to the growing complexity of human life—for our body protects itself instinctively against, and quickly recovers from, the mere effects of over-exertion—as to the unnatural, artificial, hypocritical, feverishly active, insecure, fear-haunted life of civilized men: to their blocked or strangu-

lated emotions, repressed wishes, ungratified needs, privations, unbearable burdens, hopeless struggle, endless and inescapable worries; to their unattainable, false, commercial, materialistic, externally imposed aims of life; to their dual existence, that is, to their life of divorcement or disharmony between inner feeling or conviction and outward behavior, to their life of compulsory falsehood and conventional lies, which has been so masterfully unmasked by that wonderfully many-sided genius, Max Nordau. Modern nervousness is not largely an illusion or a habit, as Munsterberg intimated. Nor is his proposed cure, which consists in advising us to exert greater self-control or self-restraint, to the credit of his psychological acumen. Unfortunately, nervousness is a sad, undeniable reality, a deeply rooted evil that must be faced and fought against. The true remedy is exactly the opposite of self-restraint or inhibition. Self-restraint, the repression or strangulation of our emotions, our hidden fears and worries and the fear of giving vent thereto are the real causes of nervousness. And to advise men to go on storing up their sufferings and discontentedness in their hearts is a very cruel, foolish and dangerous homoeopathic advice, indeed. Sigmund Freud has shown much more psychological sagacity and has come nearer to the truth when he ascribed hysteria to blocked or strangulated emotions or repressed wishes, although his psychiatrical experience with sexually precocious degenerates made him overestimate the importance of sexual emotions. He would have come still nearer to truth had he not—in his desire to be entirely original—spurned the phobias or fears of the old abnormal psychology and undertaken the impossible task of reducing fears to wishes, which are irreducible to each other and go hand in hand like light and shade, force and resistance, motion and friction. Wish and fear, hope and anxiety, are the two inseparable aspects of the same mental states or processes, wish arising from the unfoldment of our vital capacities and fear being aroused by obstacles or dangers thwarting the same. Had Freud been a proletarian he would be less obsessed by or imbued with academic-mythological fictions, and would not have overlooked the far-reaching influences of heredity and of the socio-economic environment. Had he been free from the academic ambition of forming a school or building up a system, he would not have built up his entire philosophy or rather system of abnormal psychology upon such a flimsy though highly ingenious foundation as the repression of wishes (reminiscent of Schopenhauer's *Will*) and mainly of the sex impulse. He would not have stopped at individual ailments, which are but effects, mere incidents, of our diseased civilization, of our insane social structure. He would not have stopped at bewailing the mere repression of the sexual impulse, but would have rebelled against all the foolish, crushing, thwarting restraints and taboos that enslave the civilized man and hedge him in on all sides. His psycho-analytic cure (which is but a revival of the Socratic *Know Thyself* cure) does not, therefore, touch the root of the evil. The socialistic cure for modern nervousness and unhappiness carries this same principle back to the source of the evil, that is, to our predatory or slavery system and its perpetrators, to whose interest it is to discourage, penalize, suppress all attempts at criticism, complaint, venting of discontent, self-emancipation on the part of their slaves.

Unlike his ancient prototype, the modern despot or slave-owner is ashamed of his power though loath to give it up. He is anxious, therefore, to have his slaves keep up the appearance of free men. We are slaves, mere tools or automata, but we are expected to strut around as if we were free men. We must act

busily even if we have nothing to do. We hate our work, but must show great enthusiasm and make believe that we enjoy it as if it were the only thing in the world worth our while. We are lonesome, but in self-protection must pose as having many friends. We are discontented, but we must shout that we are happy. We are robbed of the credit due to our abilities and of the fruits of our labor, but we must express gratitude to the exploiters for kindly giving us back an infinitesimal part of the spoils. When our overworked organism gives the danger signal in the form of fatigue, our employers expect us to be as fresh as in the morning, after a night's rest and to go on working at the same pace. We hate our oppressors, but we must always have a smile for them, for we are so damnably dependent and handicapped, so much afraid of being blacklisted, stigmatized as misfits, rebels, undignified, etc., of losing caste, of losing our so-called station in life that we do not dare to be on bad terms with the vindictive, underhanded, truth and honesty-hating rascals who usurp the positions of power or authority. The professional actor is allowed to be himself after the play is over; whereas we civilized slaves must be actors all the time, even in the presence of our wives and children. We are afraid to give expression to our psychical ailments, to vent our fears, worries, suspicions, indignation and troubles. We must gain our social advancement by selling our souls, by prostituting ourselves or our wives, and proclaim aloud with the hired doctrine-mongers or apologists of success that it is all due to mere ability, that everybody has the opportunity to rise if he proves capable. The slave of former times did not need to conceal his condition, nay, he could cherish the hope of gaining his freedom by flight. Not so the modern slave: his heart bursts with pain, with fear for the future, with all sorts of worries, but his face must be radiant with joy; his only hope is to advance from the ranks of the oppressed and exploited to the ranks of the oppressors and exploiters; but even then there is no security, no firm ground to stand on, no liberty, no opportunity of living according to one's own nature. What wonder then that all those who are not yet entirely corrupt or coarsened, and those who have no opportunity of making their corruption lucrative, must helplessly witness the breakdown of their own nervous system under the unbearable strain of a fear-haunted, unnatural, double life!

The cry for a natural life, for self-realization, for *sich ausleben*, which is heard in the quarters of estheticians and sentimental philosophers, is too vague, too unconscious of, or too afraid to confess, its causes and aims to serve as a basis of action. Anarchism is too extreme a reaction against our unnatural slave life, and, hence, defeats its own ends. The socialistic gospel of undisguised discontent with the present—which, by the way, has nothing in common with the gospel of blood-shedding revolution—is the only rational basis for social reform; for it fearlessly shows us the roots of, and hence indicates the right cure for, our main social evils; it shows us the danger of an externally imposed, self-deceptive, simulated, surface contentedness. It is the only social movement that looks forward and is really concerned with the welfare of the entire human species. All other movements are either impossible of realization and regressive (Communism, Tolstoyism, restoration of competition, etc.) or mere roundabout half-measures that will benefit nobody or only certain social classes (protectionism, single tax, taxation of incomes, property, inherited wealth, abolition of inheritance, etc.)

(g) HAPPINESS AND PAIN

Happiness is a state of serene, calm pleasures interrupted from time to time by transient pains or disturbances which are conducive to an increased happiness, to a more stable equilibrium, to a more resistant health. It is not an absolute lack of pain that characterizes happiness, just as it is not total lack of disease that characterizes a healthy organism. It is the proportion, duration and quality of pain, the resistibility to it, the power to defeat it, once for all, and to come out from the struggle stronger and more capable of enjoyment than before, that characterizes happiness and health.

Normal, natural, healthful, beneficial, evolutive disturbances of mind and body have always a more or less pleasurable feeling tone—which grows and displaces little by little the painful feeling tone—, and prove in the long run to be conducive to more enduring happiness, to a more stable equilibrium, to an enrichment of life's contents. The individual affected with such disturbances does not do anything towards removing or shortening their duration. On the contrary, he likes to persist in being thus affected, and allows them to run their natural course. He is stimulated by them to motor or to sensory (cogitational and affectional) activity. Thus the intermittent melancholy or lowered mental potential of the genius which stimulates or attends his creative activity, unlike the neurasthenic's chronic depressive melancholy attending a lowered potential of vitality, exhaustion or despair, is welcome to him and forms part and parcel of his personality. It is normal for the animal, for the primitive man, for the tramp, for the poor, for the sympathetic soul of the moral genius to feel depressed, or melancholy during inclement weather; but it is certainly a symptom of morbid sensitiveness in man, in the civilized, wealthy, well-provided for and well-sheltered people, in the self-engrossed philistines. The preoccupations in which the thinker willingly persists have nothing to do with the brooding, fixed ideas, and obsessions of the mentally deranged, which even the latter feel as a nuisance and as unwelcome intruders. The preoccupations of the thinker terminate in some valuable, beatifying truths or guiding principles, in a more stable mental equilibrium, in stronger convictions, whereas abnormal brooding does never arrive at any satisfactory solution. The normal woman, in addition to the sufferings of pregnancy, has also peculiar novel pleasures caused by the feeling that she shelters a hopeful, promising living being under her breast. Moreover, woman's life after childbirth becomes richer, fuller of meaning, a source of new aims and pleasures. He who is normally discontented does not try to get rid by any means of his discontentedness, but merely of the object causing it. He changes his occupation, or his opinions, or his attitude towards and expectations from his fellowmen. The normal altruist neither shuts his eyes to the human sufferings he meets with, nor does he hunt for the sight of more human sufferings. He just relieves as much of the misery he comes across as he can, and reluctantly accepts as much of it as he must. A normal mother's anxiety about her little children is also accompanied by hopes, willingness to carry the burden of maternal cares; she feels more easiness when she carries this burden herself than when she entrusts her children to somebody else's care. The altruist when torn away from or when bereaved of beloved beings, unlike the egoist, does not look for consolation in forgetfulness, distraction, dissipation, deceptive substitutes. It is a pleasurable pain to him to commune mentally at least with the departed whose *viva voce* company used to delight him in former days. Nay, as the beloved

beings have become part and parcel of his soul, his thoughts are now more steadily and hence more vividly preoccupied with them—often to the verge of hallucination, to the great delight of spiritists and ghost-hunters—for the same reason that we are more conscious of and more preoccupied with our bodily parts or organs when they are aching, wounded, deranged in their function, torn or amputated than when they are well, normal, undisturbed, integral. Mental disharmony due to the more rapid evolution of the intellect, of knowledge, as compared with the evolution of the instincts and emotions—though somewhat painful at first—soon gives rise to greater or more stable happiness and mental tranquility, for the affective nature soon catches up with the intellectual nature. But mental disharmony due to antagonism between the instincts and emotions themselves, to a double moral personality inherited by the afflicted individual from mismated, uncongenial parents, may last through life and be a constant source of unhappiness, self-depreciatory and suicidal thoughts.

The preservation of our general state of happiness, health, sanity, mental and bodily equilibrium, requires that we should indulge from time to time in contemplation, meditation, philosophizing, in melancholy, depressing, momentarily painful, action-inhibiting pessimistic or pure thoughts (such as the thought of death, ephemeralness or insignificance of human life and endeavor, futility or emptiness of human ambitions, uncertainty and instability of ultimate results, etc.), which act as a damper on our buoyancy or as a counter-balance to our energizing, dynamic, momentarily exalting, pleasurable, action-stimulating but also exhausting or energy-draining thoughts, ambitions, emotions, aspirations, ungrounded optimism.

If pain is compatible with some amount or some sort of happiness, it is simply because there is no unmixed evil in this world and also because man is a highly adaptable animal, capable of adjusting himself to, making the best of, or finding the hidden advantages of, extreme or antithetic situations (health and sickness, ignorance and knowledge, wealth and poverty, companionship and solitude, certainty and doubt, war and peace, strength and weakness, intelligence and stupidity, light and darkness, independence and dependence, freedom and slavery, strife and rest, giving and taking, self-assertion and surrender, etc.)

The mystery-mongering psychoanalysts try to read their favorite myth "flight from reality" into the so-called "enjoying of poor health" on the part of psychopaths and neuropaths, and even accuse the latter of wishing to be sick and remain uncured. As a matter of fact, the enjoyment of poor health is just as little a deliberate flight from reality as the pride of ignorance and the pride of poverty are a deliberate shunning of knowledge and wealth. Like the latter, it is merely adaptation to an inescapable situation, an incurable disease or evil. What the sick, the ignorant, the poor, the nervous or restless enjoy or are proud of is not poor health, ignorance, deprivation, anxiety, etc., but the good side, advantages or compensations thereof. If the afflicted themselves claim sometimes that they do not want to be cured, it is not because they do not really long for health, knowledge, riches, peace of mind, etc., but because they know in their heart of hearts that they cannot attain thereto and therefore try to console themselves with this piece of self-deception, like the fox in the fable about the sour grapes. But if the psychoanalysts, who surely ought to know better, insist on the curability of psycho-neuroses, it is for the obvious and not very laudable reason that their highly lucrative careers depend thereon.

(h) HAPPINESS AND MORALITY

There is no doubt that the pursuit of general or social happiness is identical with active morality, with genuine or real virtue. The only difficulty is to trace the relations between the pursuit of one's own happiness and morality. A man's happiness is a very complex thing. It consists in the gratification of so many needs, most of which require the collaboration of others. In so far as I find pleasure in things that can serve at the same time as sources of pleasure for others; in so far as I get my comforts without causing discomfort to others; in so far as I pay for a certain amount of liberty, leisure, pleasure, comfort with an equivalent amount of self-imposed abnegation, work, pain, discomfort; in so far as I am willing and able to find my happiness in seeing or making others happy; in so far as I find more contentedness in spiritual than in material values; in so far as I get more satisfaction out of common, shareable property than out of private, unshared or unshareable property; in so far as I let mankind benefit from my pursuit of knowledge, beauty, utilization of natural forces; in so far the pursuit of my own happiness is partly a moral pursuit and partly un-moral or morally indifferent. But, unfortunately, human society is at present so constituted that one can not very well acquire liberty, leisure, wealth, comfort, a higher position, without enslaving, overworking, impoverishing, discomforting, ousting others, more or less; there is so much iniquity and suffering in present-day society that an ideal, extreme altruist can not possibly find any happiness therein nor indulge in optimism unless he is ignorant of or blind to real conditions; there is so much parasitism, and honest hard work is so despised and so badly remunerated that only a vanishing minority of highly and lucratively gifted honest men can attain material welfare without having to embrace parasitical careers, dishonest professions, and without becoming untrue to their convictions. As a rule, therefore, we may say that under present circumstances the pursuit of complete individual happiness is not only beset with insurmountable obstacles but is also largely antagonistic to moral pursuits. This antagonism, however, is neither necessary nor unavoidable. It is merely a concomitant of our deficient, imperfect, irrational, parasitical, predatory, social organization.

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